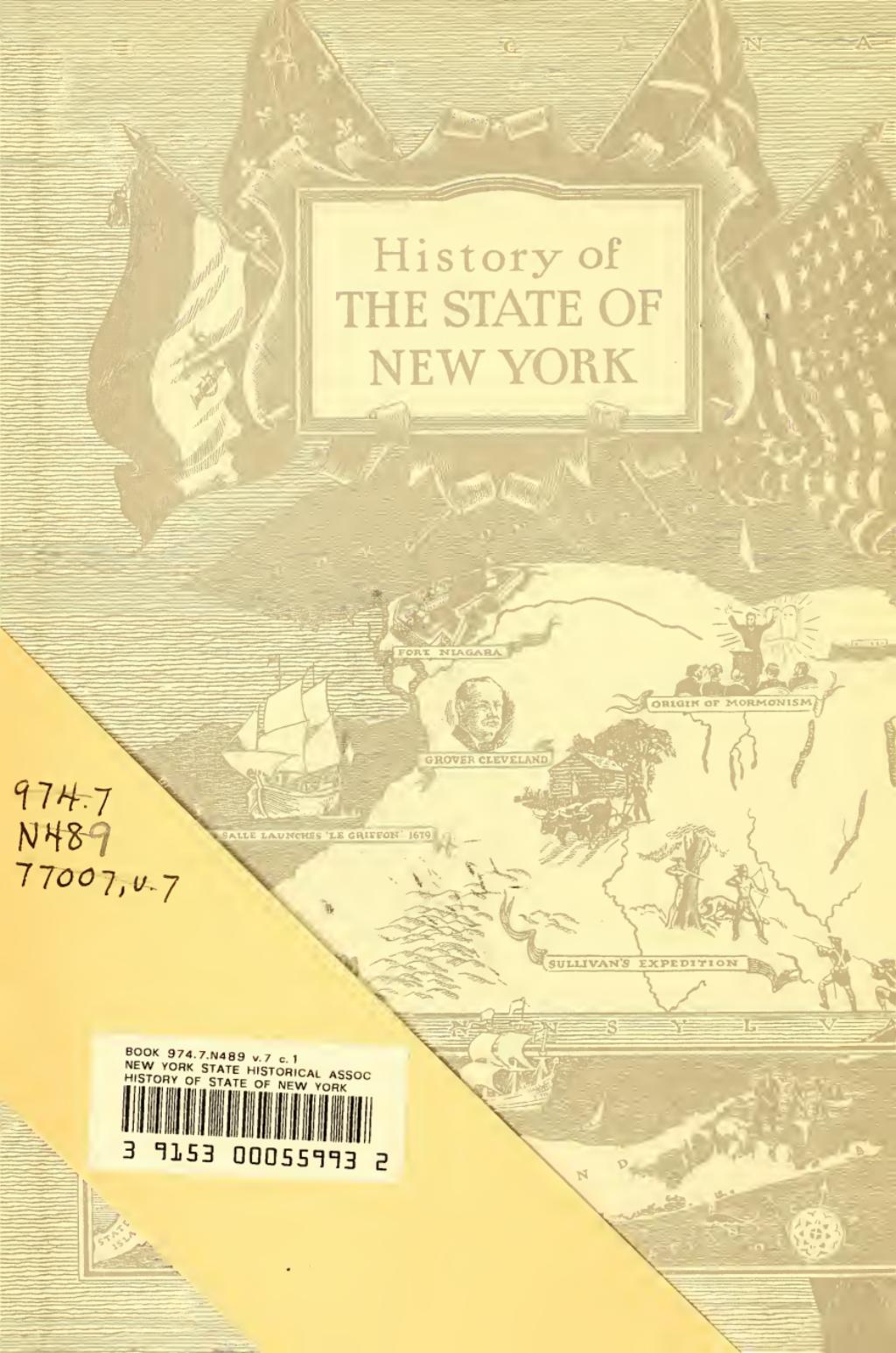




History of THE STATE OF NEW YORK



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HISTORY OF THE STATE OF
NEW YORK

IN TEN VOLUMES

EDITED BY
ALEXANDER C. FLICK
STATE HISTORIAN

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



Gen. Charles Lang

HISTORY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK



VOLUME SEVEN
MODERN PARTY BATTLES

NEW YORK

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FOREWORD

THE life span of a man of seventy-five would cover the time from the contest over slavery to the New Deal in our own day. Although short as measured by human experience, yet this period has been one of great significance in the development of political institutions in New York State. Democracy as a satisfactory and dependable method of human association has been on trial. Through modernized constitutional forms, improved governmental machinery, a wider franchise, and party endeavors, the citizens of this state have attempted to solve their political problems for a larger and more creative civic life. Corrupt rings, dictatorial party bosses and unscrupulous machines have been combated by modes of reform incited by an awakened and, at times, outraged citizenry and furthered by able leaders. This volume interprets these struggles and changes to ameliorate the functions of the commonwealth.

This epoch has been characterized in New York by an unprecedented increase in population through immigration, in wealth, in internal improvements, in mechanical conveniences and in higher standards of living. During this three-quarters of a century, the Empire State has had to share the burden imposed on its people and their resources by three wars — the Civil War, the Spanish-American War and the World War — each of which left an impress on their ideas and institutions.

To improve the fundamental law of the state, three constitutional conventions were held: in 1867, 1894 and 1915. Only the constitution of 1894 was approved by the voters and it has

now served the state for over forty years. But through wise constitutional amendments and statutory laws, important improvements have been made in the judiciary and in the administrative functions of the state government.

To no small degree the growth of New York State has been determined by the cosmopolitan composition of its people. The wide mingling of races and nationalities of colonial days has been accentuated during the period of statehood. As a human setting for the evolution of the commonwealth as explained in this volume, Dr. Richard J. Purcell has pointed out, in two initial chapters, the extraordinary influx of Europeans between the Revolution and the Civil War. Each national group has had some worthwhile contribution to make to the totality of our civilization.

The Civil War—its causes, character and results—are covered in an interesting chapter on “Politics and Slavery, 1850–1860,” by Dr. Philip G. Auchampaugh; and in Dr. Milledge L. Bonham, Jr.’s cogent treatment of “New York and the Civil War,” which is one of the ablest summations yet written.

The postwar problems, the overthrow of the Tweed Ring in the metropolis, the disruption of the upstate Canal Ring, and the emergence and clashes of party bosses and organizations, down to the Bull Moose defection of Theodore Roosevelt and the impeachment of Governor Sulzer in 1913, are lucidly discussed by Dr. Edwin Platt Tanner.

A discerning explanation of constitutional developments and political changes from 1915 to 1935 is made in two able and constructive chapters written by Dr. Finla G. Crawford. This ground, in its entirety, has not been covered hitherto in such an understanding manner.

The two final chapters of the volume, describing “New York and the World War,” constitute the first attempt to summarize the multitudinous activities of the people of the Empire

State in that great outburst of passion that shook the world in 1914-18, and whose effects are still felt.

In the bibliographies, the purpose has been to prepare helpful, rather than exhaustive, lists of material for a wider study of various movements.

ALEXANDER C. FLICK

ALBANY, NEW YORK

May 18, 1935

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— I —

IMMIGRATION TO THE CANAL ERA

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IMMIGRATION TO THE CANAL ERA

COSMOPOLITAN POPULATION OF NEW YORK

THE province of New York on the eve of the American Revolution had a composite Dutch, German and British population with the City of New York already a babel of tongues, races and creeds. The old Dutch element had increased little by immigration since the English occupation (1664) and, though New York as compared to Pennsylvania had never been a favored destination for German immigrants, yet there were German arrivals, especially from the Palatinate and Hanover, some of whom came directly from England and the south of Ireland after the Revolution of 1689 and during the reign of Anne. There were 200 families of Huguenots, mostly from England, and a few hundred unhappy Acadian captives. An occasional Latin or Jew arrived from the foreign West Indies. From the beginning there was a slight infiltration of Irish immigrants, the bulk of whom were of Scotch-Irish descent, as a study of characteristic names would indicate. The colony was popularized in Ireland by its relative freedom from religious persecution; by the succession of governors of Irish connections such as Dongan, Bellomont, Cornbury and Cosby; by the knowledge of the region acquired by Irish soldiers in the intercolonial wars; by liberal land grants to retired veterans; and by the activities of land speculators and colonizers. In the eighteenth century, the Scotch-Irish immigration increased under religious disabilities and economic embarrassments in Ulster, while the Celtic Irish turned as soldiers and emigrants toward the Continent. Again, there was a growing trade between New York and Ireland in provisions, flax and linen, Dublin being the brokerage center for the linen business. The suppression of the Scottish revolts on behalf of the Stuarts and the

breaking down of the clan system turned some Scots to New York, though Pennsylvania and the Carolinas proved their chief refuge. Despite these representatives of various racial stocks, the bulk of the colonists were English in blood, whether they came as soldiers, transports, indentured servants or passengers.

During the Revolution, there was naturally no immigration unless such a designation could include the deserters from the British service, which for the first time admitted Irish Catholics, Hessian deserters or captives who merged with the German settlers, and German and Irish soldiers of Louis XVI who located among the people in whose liberation they had assisted. Yet this increment was slight in comparison to loyalists who crossed the line into Canada or who departed with the British on the evacuation of the City of New York. The Revolution advertised in the British Isles the resources and opportunities of America, and nowhere more than in Ireland whose sympathies in non-ascendancy circles, and especially in Ulster, were pronounced in favor of American independence and whose pride in the exploits of Irish-men in the American forces knew no bounds.

Even during the war, there was anticipation of a heavy migration from the British Isles in the event of American success. Arthur Young predicted that "If the war ends in favor of the Americans the people will go in shoals." A member of Parliament urged: "There will be a draining of Ireland—laborers, manufacturers and some capitalists—for her [America] laws are equally good, her language and religion the same, her lands cheap and her wages high." Quite accurately, he maintained that men of small property in the Old World would be rated men of affluence and standing in the New World. And Hely Hutchinson, thinking of earlier emigrations from Ulster, warned: "In vain you represent the crime of deserting their country, the folly of forsaking their friends, the temerity of wandering to distant, and perhaps, inhospitable climates; their despondency is deaf to

the suggestions of prudence, and will answer, that they can no longer stay where hope never comes, but will fly from those regions of sorrow."

The treaty of peace had scarcely been negotiated when American land agents, including those of New York, were contemplating the settlement of wild lands with European emigrants. Silas Deane, with this project in mind, wrote to American correspondents that "It is certainly unwise to let the present moment pass unimproved, whilst such numbers are emigrating from every part of Europe to settle in America," and that, for himself, he would prefer British and German settlers: "The bold and adventurous spirit of the English, Scotch, and Irish; and the patient, laborious, and persevering genius of the Germans gives them preference to all other nations in planting and cultivating a new country."

There was a spirited attempt in Ireland to engage in American trade before English merchants could do so, and Ireland did lead in opening this trade with ships loaded with merchandise, linen and passengers, in return for provisions and grain. Journals teemed with both favorable and unfavorable reports from America and advertisements of the sailing of ships, some for New York, from both northern and southern ports. Only the small burden of vessels, one hundred to four hundred tons, and the high rates of passage, £10 steerage and £20 cabin, retarded emigration; yet there were enough passengers so that captains carefully scrutinized persons offering themselves as indentured servants, in order to be assured of their salability. Little attention was paid to the publicized danger of the voyage, the desperate trials of indentured servants, riotous disorders in the States, and the failure of business, in view of the infinitely worse situation of petty manufacturers, artisans and laborers in the post-war depression in the British Isles.

Lest too many Europeans, attracted by unfounded hopes of

ease and favor, should come to America, Benjamin Franklin published a tract, of which there was a Dublin reprint, in which he gave sound advice to prospective emigrants. He offered no encouragement to men of literary leanings, but he did assure men of property, artisans, farmers and laborers of a future in a country where land was cheap and wages good, where religious toleration was practised, and where multitudes from England, Scotland, Ireland and Germany had obtained a footing in a few years which would have been quite impossible for them at home. Those who opposed emigration from the British Isles did not relish such reports and maintained that Franklin's secretary was even then fomenting discontents in Ulster even as Henry Laurens and American agents were suspected of decoying honest mechanics from London, Birmingham and Manchester.

DREAD OF "ROMANISM" PASSES: CENSUS OF 1790

Independence indubitably fostered the growth of religious freedom, yet an inherited dread of "Romanism" dominated public policy. Although the State Constitution provided that "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship shall hereafter be allowed within the state to all mankind," petitioners for naturalization were to "abjure and renounce all allegiance to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate, and state in all matters ecclesiastical as well as civil." In 1784, there was repealed an old statute of 1700 condemning priests who persisted in tarrying in New York to imprisonment and even to death, and harbores of them to a fine of a thousand dollars and three days in the pillory. The penal days had not entirely passed, but as a local historian has observed: "The spirit of the people, so far more kind, so far better than the laws, made them generally become a dead letter before they were repealed." Again the Revolution was a step toward greater democracy, but the ruling class clung to power, the suffrage was trammeled by

restrictive qualifications and officeholding was limited by a test oath. Indeed a generation passed before prejudice permitted a Catholic to find place in local government, Francis Cooper being the first elected to the Assembly in 1806. Vague knowledge of divergencies in practice from theoretical toleration and democracy made New York less popular with immigrants than Pennsylvania, where both the Irish and German races had a surer foothold.

A legislative act (1784) for the incorporation of religious societies, though somewhat unsatisfactory to canonists, permitted the organization of a congregation and the building of St. Peter's Church in Barclay Street with a parish unbounded even by state frontiers. Incidentally the same year saw the revival of the non-sectarian Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, one of whose chief purposes was the assistance of Irish arrivals. St. Peter's was built by contributions from King Charles of Spain, José Silva, a Portuguese merchant, Hector Saint-John de Crèvecoeur, French consul general, and the congregation of about four hundred members of whom a majority were Irishmen. Indeed contributions were solicited in Galway on the score that a goodly proportion of the local Catholics were from that county, which was so closely bound to Spain and France in an illicit trade in soldiers, wool and wines. Among this original congregation, there were immigrants of recognized standing. Dominick Lynch, a former merchant of Galway and Bruges, was a partner of Don Stoughton, a recent arrival, who served as Spanish consul. He became a man of wealth as a merchant, as a shipper, even in the China trade, and as a colonizer of Lynchville (Rome), New York; he was also a leader in charitable enterprises, in building St. Patrick's Cathedral in Mott Street, and was the local signer of the Catholic congratulatory address to Washington on his election to the presidency. His thirteen children intermarried with the merchant aristocracy, and his son, Dominick Lynch II, a man of fashion,

gave New Yorkers a taste for his Chateau Margeaux and Sauterne and for the Italian opera of which he was the first patron. Cornelius Heeney made his start through Quaker assistance. Friends employed Irishmen when intolerance and keen competition made it difficult for them to obtain employment. As a clerk for Backhous, a fur broker, he became associated with John Jacob Astor, a German immigrant trader, with whom he took over the business on the proprietor's (Backhous') retirement to England. Soon both men went their separate ways. Astor gained fame and enormous riches. Heeney grew wealthy in trade and in the increased valuation of real estate, and used his wealth to build churches and orphanages and to found "The Trustees and Associates of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society" which has distributed nearly two million dollars in relief since 1845. Andrew Morris, a soap manufacturer, with a country house on the Bowery, became a representative in the Assembly, as did Heeney. William Mooney, an upholsterer, was a founder and first sachem of the fraternal Sons of St. Tammany. There were lesser men, merchants, sea captains, schoolmasters, surveyors, accountants, scriveners, tradesmen and laborers, whose success and whose letters encouraged fellow countrymen to come to New York.

Among the early priests at St. Peter's, there were interesting Irishmen: Charles Whelan, a native of King's County, Ireland, who was educated in France, a chaplain on de Grasse's fleet and in a French regiment during the Revolution, and a British prisoner in Jamaica; Andrew Nugent, a graduate of French schools and a missionary in Ireland; William O'Brien, a Dominican, who had been educated in part at Bologna and who did heroic work among the victims of the recurrent cholera epidemics between 1795 and 1803. Troubles with the church trustees sent Whelan to the Kentucky missions and Nugent back to Ireland, where he did not encourage emigration to New York. For a time, John O'Connell, O.P., was chaplain to the Spanish minister and José Phelan to the merchant, de Silva. These Irish priests of Con-

tinental affiliations, able to preach in three tongues, were a solace to immigrants of different races and a standing proof that there would be no lack of spiritual ministrations for them.

It is doubtful if the port of New York attracted more than fifteen hundred or two thousand British immigrants in even the best years of the peaceful decade prior to the Grand Alliance against the French Revolutionists. Samuel Blodget, an American statistician, wrote that for the ten year period before 1794, the total American immigration was not over four thousand per year. And, as these newcomers were of the dominant old blood, they challenged little attention, merging as they did so easily into the general population. In 1790, the *Freeman's Journal* (Dublin, June 9), observed with satisfaction that:

Emigrations to America, from the Province of Ulster in particular, seem to have abated very much within the last five or six years. One of the principal causes obviating a practice so very pernicious in its tendency and to the interests and advancement of a country, has been the very great increase of manufactures in the northern parts . . . as to the southern and western inhabitants they would have gone off to America in ten-fold proportion, but could not possibly procure means of providing for their passage.

There was virtually no German immigration to New York. Nor despite the lauded character of German settlers, was such a movement fostered, if one can judge from the veto of a bill (April 6, 1785)

to incorporate the German society for encouraging immigration from Germany [on the score that] it will be productive of the most fatal evils to the State to introduce into it a great number of foreigners, differing from the old citizens in language and manners, ignorant of our Constitution, and totally unacquainted with the principles of civil liberty, under such circumstances as will naturally tend to ever keep them a distinct people and prevent their blending with the general mass of citizens with one name and common interest.

Heads of families as listed in the census of 1790 gave some indication of racial origins of the white population of New York. The conclusions arrived at in an official publication, *A Century of Population Growth* (1909), have been quite superseded, but are interesting in a relative study: English and Welsh, 78 per cent of the total white population of 314,366; Scots, 3.2 per cent; Irish, 0.8 per cent; and Germans, 0.4 per cent. Revised estimates based upon a careful survey of name origins, in a report by two scholars under the direction of a committee of the American Council of Learned Societies, offer quite different results, and probably as definitive, or at least as suggestive, estimates as will ever be possible on the basis of evidence so intangible and doubtful: English and Welsh stock, 57 per cent; Scotch, 7 per cent; Irish, 8.1 per cent (Ulster, 5.1 per cent, rest of Ireland, 3 per cent); German, 8.2 per cent; Dutch, 17.5 per cent; French, 3.8 per cent; Swedish, 0.5 per cent. On this doubtful basis, there should have been over 9,000 Catholics of Irish descent. Whereas there are no Catholic estimates for the state at large, it has been figured on the score of baptisms that there were 1,000 communicants of all races in New York City. The number elsewhere at most would not add up to 500 souls. A. B. Faust estimated a total of 37,000 Germans (9,000 in Dutchess County, 20,000 in Montgomery, 3,000 in Schoharie and 5,000 elsewhere) or 10.8 per cent of the total population.

COMING OF THE IRISH

With ratification of the Constitution, the inauguration of the new Federal government, the improvement of economic conditions in America, and the growing literature of guidebooks and travelers' adventures, one might anticipate a heavy British emigration to America after 1790. That this was not so was due to an improvement in manufactures, a more spirited pursuance of agriculture, a more hopeful attitude of Irish Catholics with the

cessation of persecution and with political enfranchisement, and a marked fear of irreligious French radicalism. At all events, a contemporary authority writing in 1803 saw a decline of Irish emigration after 1788, to the point of virtual cessation.

Naturally the governing and employing classes abroad strove in every way to limit emigration, especially during the European war. In emigration, the government saw a loss of population, specie and soldiers; the manufacturer feared a loss of artisans, even though they slipped out under the designation of "laborers," and consequently increased wages; churchmen of all denominations saw a loss in membership; and the landlords, a scarcity of cheap help and a decline in the value of leases. Journals called for vigilant enforcement of the laws to prevent American captains from seducing industrious and ingenious factory workers, citing a factory near New York with a capitalization of \$150,000, managed by an "escaped" Irishman and operated by Yorkshire workmen. Small boats were leaving irregularly for the States without record on either side of the ocean. Irishmen were shipping, or smuggling themselves on fishing boats from Waterford to Newfoundland, whence many were finding their way to the United States. The general clearances in the Highlands and Islands sent Scots to British North America with some migration into northern New York. Irish laborers were required in the fields of Scotland and England and as soldiers and sailors in defense of the realm. Impressments took up the slack of population, and during the war Irish agriculture and British factories were equally thriving.

American provision and flax ships returning from Irish ports, especially Dublin, Derry and Belfast, brought as many emigrants as they could attract, both paying passengers and indentured servants, who must not be sailors, potential sailors or skilled artisans. There were warnings against violations of the

laws, there were stories of returning emigrants from New York. Yet British sailors shipped on American boats and factory workers came if they could. There were no noisy adieus and no records of emigrants. Yet in the whole period from 1793 to 1815, it is doubtful if more than a few hundred British emigrants landed in New York. There were only individual Europeans, aside from Portuguese, Spanish and French refugees from the West Indies and the Latin-American countries.

No more influential group came to New York than the Irish Republicans on the suppression of the United Irishmen. It was at this time that Rufus King represented the Federalist party in principle and in prejudice at the Court of Saint James. A deeper-dyed partisan than President Adams, and more fearful of Jacobinism and British radicalism than the framers of the Alien and Sedition Laws, King broadly interpreted his authority to prevent the emigration of rebels and released prisoners to the United States. At all events, his action was in harmony with the administrative policy and he was given a free hand. Concerning these "converts and agents of the new school of Philosophy or Politics," he successfully obtained the Duke of Portland's agreement that none of the state prisoners would be sent or allowed to go to the United States, with the result that some who were leaving for America were shipped to Australia and others were given indeterminate prison sentences. To King, "the contrast between New England and some other parts of the United States is, in my view, a powerful admonition to us to observe greater caution in the admission of Foreigners among us." He feared them as democrats who were bound to align themselves with disorganizing Jeffersonianism and especially as men whose influence among deluded followers would be greater because of their marked talents. For the moment, he was successful. Yet, some of the rebels were already in America and others were destined to come. And King's exertions, quite as much as continued Federalist

hostility to immigration, made Democrats of Irishmen, much as was the case with the bulk of pre-Civil War immigrants of other races.

A number of the Irish Republicans found their way to New York, where some of them distinguished themselves in business, the ministry, teaching and other professions. Indeed their influence was larger than their number might indicate. There was Robert Adrain who had been left for dead on an Irish field, but who managed to escape with his family and the widow of Wolfe Tone to America. While most of his life was spent as a teacher in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, he taught in Columbia College, where he was regarded as the "outstanding mathematician in America in his time." There was Thomas James Baird, who came with his rebel father and who as a graduate of West Point served as an officer in the American army. Married to Elizabeth, a daughter of Matthew Carey, the Philadelphia economist and publisher and himself an Irish refugee, Baird left a family of merit. David Bryson, who was "on the run" in 1798, was a rich merchant in New York before the end of the War of 1812. John Dalzell, a rebel leader in County Down, escaped to sea in an open boat and was rescued by an American ship bound for New York. On the later arrival of his family, he settled as a farmer at Vernon in Oneida County. His Irish-born son, Robert, designed most of the flour mills of Rochester and introduced the elevator system for the storage of grain. As a man opposed on principle to more than seven per cent profits, he did not amass a fortune.

There were the Devereux of Wexford, some of whom went as "wild geese" to the Continent and others to fight with Bolivar. John Cornish Devereux managed to reach Utica in 1802. As a land agent, president of the branch of the Bank of the United States, president of the Utica Savings Bank, a patron of charitable institutions, and as mayor, he "was public spirited, did much

for charity, was recognized as one of the foremost citizens of the community, and left an enviable reputation to posterity." A brother, Nicholas, was a builder of Utica, a colonizer of western New York, a member of the group which took over the holdings of the Holland Land Company, a proponent of the Erie Canal, an organizer of the Utica and Schenectady Railroad, and a director of banks and of local woolen mills. James Doyle settled in New York in 1806 and contributed a son to the mortality lists of the Seminole War and a grandson to those of 1861. Bernard Gallagher came out with Emmet and married the daughter of a victim of Valley Forge by whom he had a son, William Davis, a poet, who was an editor of Cincinnati journals. James Given for sixty years made himself a useful citizen of Fishkill. Charles Irvine became a teacher and later a landholder in Sullivan County. William Kernan was a farmer, Democratic leader, and military officer in Steuben County, and his son, Francis, became a United States Senator. Robert Lowther of Albany was described in his obituary as "a native of Ireland whose love of liberty induced him to engage in the cause of his country with Emmet and others." John Mahon, a rebel orphan, came as an indentured servant to Herkimer County, where his familiarity with the German tongue made him such a powerful figure in Democratic circles, as sheriff and judge, that a local historian observed that his career

exhibits in bold relief some of the striking peculiarities of American institutions. An alien orphan, destitute alike of money and education, immigrates to our country, and by application and industry acquires both.

On the death of James Maher the *Albany Atlas*, considering his fifty years as a merchant, a captain of the Irish Greens in the War of 1812, and state librarian, described him as one of a "body of educated and energetic men, whose influence was early

felt in the country and who at once acquired position in it." Hugh McGinnis, an Ulsterite rebel, made and lost several fortunes as a merchant and contractor in New York City. Hugh McMullin arrived in 1795 and later settled in Amsterdam, where his son gained fame as a Republican and a Methodist. Patrick Mathers located in Albany, where as a member of Irish societies he served his incoming countrymen. Samuel Neilson, the Belfast draper, editor of the *Northern Star*, prisoner in various English prisons, finally reached Poughkeepsie where he died within a year, broken in body and in spirit. James Orr, nephew of the more famous Orr who was hanged to frighten the Presbyterians of Antrim, shipped out of Belfast and landed in New York in 1799. As a literary man, he found life hard in the New World, and when the Act of Union deadened the Irish struggle, he returned to Belfast and abjured Republicanism. William and John O'Brien, of the family of the Earl of Inchiquin, fled Ireland and established a successful banking house in New York, even as a co-rebel, Alexander Brown, had in Baltimore, and their rebellious blood is said to have caused them to decline the lucrative agency of the Bank of England. Keating Rawson, the son of an Irish gentleman who married a German lady when in foreign service, left County Wicklow in the early disorders and established himself at Lansingburg as proprietor of a tannery and malt house. Thomas Sufferan did not appear until 1808, but won a competence as a tobacco broker. And John Timon, Catholic Bishop of Buffalo, was the son of a rebel of County Cavan who made his way to Pennsylvania.

But the most notorious Irish radicals were Thomas Addis Emmet, MacNeven, O'Connor and Sampson, who were detested by the Federalists and toasted by Democrats. Thomas O'Connor, who had taken the rebel oath from Wolfe Tone, came to New York (1801), where he married a daughter of an older immigrant, Hugh O'Connor, whose son served as a major in the War

of 1812. In 1803 he and a brother joined Kernan in colonizing Irish people in Steuben County, thereby running into debt and a debtor's prison. As publisher of the *Shamrock*, the first Irish journal in America, and of books on the War of 1812 and the Inquisition, as a Tammany brave, and as a leader in every beneficial movement for Irish immigrants in America or for the liberation of Ireland, O'Connor did service, and his son, Charles O'Conor, won renown as a recognized leader of the American bar and as a candidate for the presidency on a minority ticket. MacNeven as a youth studied in Vienna, where his titled uncle was physician to Empress Maria Theresa. Returning to Ireland, he joined the ineffective Catholic Committee in its futile struggle for emancipation and later became a United Irishman. After spending four years in jail, thanks to Rufus King, he became a captain in the Irish Legion (1802); but when it was discovered that Napoleon had no intention of sending an expedition to Ireland, he shipped to New York (1805). As the author of books and monographs on Irish history, travels and chemistry, as the founder of the first chemical laboratory, as a professor in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and as president of the Friends of Ireland, MacNeven was an acknowledged force in New York until his death in 1841. William Sampson, an officer in Grattan's Volunteers, a correspondent of the *Northern Star* and a counselor of fellow rebels in court, found himself in prison after being arrested in Portugal. Later banished, he came to New York in 1806, via France, winning distinction at the bar as Counselor Sampson. Of Thomas Addis Emmet, his name gave his story: a rebel of '98, one of King's proscribed democrats, a brother of Robert Emmet, an immigrant of 1804, a patriot in the War of 1812, a leader of the Irish contingent in New York, a powerful factor in the Democratic party, and a leader of the bar. Of him Frances Wright wonderingly wrote in her book of travels:

In the mild manners, in the urbanity and benevolence of Mr. Emmet's character, one might be at a loss to conceive where oppression found its victim. Is it [in] his powerful talents and generous sentiments, that we must seek the explanation?

EARLY IRISH IN ALBANY

With the removal of the French and Indian menace in 1763, Albany attracted settlers and among them were enough Scotch-Irish to establish a Presbyterian Church. Their numbers gradually increased, especially after 1783. A year after the war, local authorities assigned winter barracks to Donald McDonald and his party of two hundred Highlanders who contemplated a settlement on western lands. The importance of the western movement, with Albany as a distributing base, was indicated by a report, in 1789, that the flood of immigrants brought about a scarcity of provisions and relatively high prices in the western part of the state. Germans in groups of families from Pennsylvania were proceeding through Albany to settle on the Morris lands in Genesee County. In the last two decades of the eighteenth century, there were several foreign builders of Albany: John McDonald, a Presbyterian divine; John McClintock and Thomas Ennis, schoolmasters; Barry, Carey, Blake and Kelly, merchants; Jacob Lorillard in his little tobacco shop; Robert and John Barber, public printers and publishers of the *Albany Register*; Elisha Kane, a director of the Bank of Albany, of which Dudley Walsh, with an immigrant's start, rose to the presidency, without a superior as a merchant and citizen.

At the end of the century, there were enough French, German and Irish Catholics to form a congregation at John Cassidy's house. Subscriptions were taken for a church, and the *Albany Gazette* could note with pride: "It bespeaks the tolerant and liberal disposition of the country to find our citizens of every persuasion emulous in assisting their Roman Catholic

brethren with the means of building here a temple to the God of heaven, in which they can worship according to the dictates of their own consciences." In 1798, St. Mary's Church, a brick structure, was ready for services and soon became a thriving congregation. The trustees, headed by Thomas Barry and including the Count de la Tour de Pin, whose wife, a daughter of Count Dillon of the Irish Brigade who had served in the American Revolution and who was guillotined during the Terror, kept in close correspondence with the Bishop Carroll. In its early years, the parish was attended by priests like Dr. Stafford, Cornelius Mahony, who was "incapable of preaching before the legislature," Father Hurley, Charles Smith, a convert from Methodism, and Dr. Matthew O'Brien, a learned Dominican. It was this congregation which brought Michael Egan from Ireland, only to be transferred to Lancaster and later elevated to the new bishopric of Philadelphia. Matthew O'Brien attracted general attention by his eulogy on Washington as he contrasted the moderate Revolution in America with the convulsions in France, inquiring "Where is the country—where liberty is better defended or the clime more propitious to her progress and her luxuriance than this in which we now prosper and find security?" He maintained that the industrious were successful, that wretchedness was not even the share of the indolent and undeserving, that talent was favored, that offices democratically rotated, and that a heavy immigration pointed to America's constitutional advantages.

With the development of steam navigation on the Hudson River, Albany's foreign population grew rapidly in both numbers and influence. Indeed Fulton's first passenger list of twenty-four persons included two Irishmen. Among the Irish element, there were such figures as its adopted citizens, Daniel Steele, a bookseller, who published *The Albany Collection of Sacred Harmony* (1801); witty Christopher Dunn, of the Coffee House; James Caldwell, long an opulent merchant, who

colonized Caldwell (Fort George) with his own Irish Presbyterians; the Kane family of merchants who were in the West Indian trade; Dr. William Neil, a Presbyterian divine, a founder of the Albany Academy (1814), and later editor of the *Presbyterian Magazine* of Philadelphia and president of Dickinson College; Terrence O'Donnell, a merchant and a promoter of Stillwater; a number of lesser merchants and a sprinkling of teachers. In 1807, St. Patrick's Society was incorporated with the expressed purpose of aiding Irish immigrants. In 1810, the erection of the Third Presbyterian Church indicated the growth of the Irish Protestant contingent. And both the Presbyterian and Episcopalian cemeteries listed on their tombstones a considerable number of Celtic names.

INFLUENCE OF WAR AND CANALS

The War of 1812 was not unwelcome to the foreign element, led by ardent Jeffersonian Republicans in thorough sympathy with the administration and not adverse to striking at England as a reputed foe of liberalism. Indeed the war gave foreigners their first sense of complete citizenship—a citizenship of responsibilities as well as of rights. And it meant, for the first time, that they were fully accepted by pro-war natives. Irishmen, whether they followed presbyter or priest, were not unmindful that six former United Irishmen were among the War Hawks in Congress who brought about the declaration of war. They failed to ponder over the growing proportion of Celts in the British service, which made strife with England almost an internecine conflict for Irishmen. They believed in the coming of the day when England would be doomed, when Ireland's ancient bonds would be loosed, and when American prejudice against immigrants would be obliterated. To strike with France against the English foe and to harass the Federalist enemy inspired a natural patriotism in Irish breasts.

The Shamrock had not urged war but, with war forced upon

us, it predicted victory, urged an army of a million men, summoned the Irish to form the vanguard of the national defense, and intimated that Irishmen under the British flag were at heart with the American Republic. Indeed in the dark days of the conflict, it reported a well-founded rumor "That a great spirit of desertion is apparent among the British armies; and that many Irishmen have enlisted, in the hope that they might be transported to the American lines, not to fight, but to desert and shake hands with the Yankees."

Independence Day, 1812, was celebrated with crusading fervor by Irish organizations such as the Hibernian Providential Society, and by the officers of Colonel McClure's First Regiment of Riflemen, of which the Republican Greens with their own officers formed a company. O'Connor and Wall established *The Military Monitor* as a war organ, and James Gillespie edited the *Columbia Naval Songster*. Emmet was appointed state attorney general, to the satisfaction of Republican voters. In Brooklyn, Capt. Joseph Dean's command attracted Irish recruits; and James Harvey, a building contractor, was named on the standing committee of the Law and Order Society. With the war, Irishmen were being recognized. Albany raised a company of Irish Greens which incidentally took part in the Buffalo riot, when a hotel proprietor, annoyed by the volunteer forces, expressed the pious wish that the British would kill the lot of them. In the Canandaigua district, under Maj. R. J. Mullany, a hero of Queenston Heights, there was brisk recruiting which needed no stimulation of bounties or land grants.

In 1813, when the government was almost reduced to peddle its bonds in New York, there was pride of race when Irish merchants like McBride, Kelly, Morrison, Murphy, Keenan and Lafferty could subscribe \$46,500. There was rejoicing in the naval exploits of Commodores McDonough; James Shaw of Mount Mellerick in Ireland; Oliver H. Perry, whose mother was

a Newry lass; and Charles Stewart, son of Irish parents and by strange fortune destined to be grandfather of the outstanding Irish statesman, Charles Stewart Parnell. There was pride in the services rendered by Gen. William Carroll; Col. William L. Donaldson; Maj. John O'Connor, who later translated at the command of the War Department a French work on the *Science of War and Fortifications*; Lieut. Col. Joseph Wilcocks, a United Irishman, who died fighting the old fight at Fort Erie instead of at Antrim or Vinegar Hill; Capt. J. McKeon, who was commended for courage at the bombardment of Newark; Maj. Isaac Roach, who was cited for bravery at the capture of Caledonia and in the burning of the "Detroit" on Lake Erie; Maj. Coleman Keeler, and Capts. O'Hara, Elliot, Farrell, Boyle, Leavens, Logan, Blakely, Power, Talbot, Conklin, Dillon, McGrath and Gallagher, among many others. Irishmen all, and all Irishmen were alive to their valor. Republican journals gave ample space to the Irish contribution to the war: accounts of captives, privateersmen, of men who fell on land and sea, and of the mistreatment of Irish prisoners who were threatened with trial for treason until Colonel Winfield Scott intervened and Congress passed a retaliatory measure. Never were there more exploits and heroes to remember in toasts at the festive boards on the Fourth of July and on St. Patrick's Day. And for probably the first time the Germans became a hearty toast. The only sad note was at the funeral services in St. Patrick's Cathedral for a youth, once a cadet at West Point, who was spoiled by a fortune and executed at Fort Columbus on a mutiny charge.

In August, 1814, fifteen hundred sons of Erin, including the obscure Ulsterite immigrant, Patrick McCloskey, whose son was to be the first American cardinal, marched with the harp and the standards of Washington and Montgomery to man the fortifications in expectancy of an attack upon the city. In November a similar concentration of Irish citizens manned the defenses of

the Harlem. *The Shamrock*, MacNeven and Sampson urged the enlistment of five hundred Irishmen for a separate corps, and in November the two leaders issued a stirring appeal for a corps for three months' service:

Our appeal is to the constant; our call is on the brave! Such only are wanted whose hearts can answer to the call: broken like the rest, in fortune, we have neither bribe nor patronage to offer, nor anything to show, but the dangers of the field. Nor shall we solicit or cajole. Zeal and affection must be the common stock; with these qualities the poor is rich enough; without them the rich are too poor. We have no interest but the safety of our country; nor ambition but to march with its defenders. Thrice happy if in doing so, we avenge the wrongs of our dear native land.

Somewhat later *Niles Register*, in defending immigration, could urge: "We know that the Irish emigrants much aided to fill the ranks of the army during the war and they fought gallantly for freedom, feeling that they had a share in the contest as their own." And *The Shamrock*, naturally in favor of a liberal policy of naturalization, cried out, relative to the treasonable Hartford Convention:

We shall not dispute the power of Congress to exclude aliens from naturalization, but for the adopted citizens we claim the continuation of those rights which he acquired by naturalization. . . . The adopted citizens are, in general, as loyal as the natives; and we do hope that even the worst of them will never be discovered holding up a blue light for the enemy.

With the end of the war, there was no longer any immediate danger of tampering with the naturalization laws, there was little opposition to immigration for a generation, the hostile Federalist party was weakened unto death, and naturally the emigrant traffic took on new life.

With an enlarged immigration in mind, there were established

a German Emigrant Society (1814), a Catholic Benevolent Society (1817) to aid the poor and orphans, and the active Shamrock Society. Under the auspices of MacNeven, Emmet, Irvine, Humbert and O'Connor, there was published an invaluable brochure, *Hints to Irishmen Who Intend with their Families to Make a Permanent Residence in America* (1816), which carried weight and influence, republished, as it was, in Dublin, in Belfast and in London, as *Hints to Emigrants from Europe*, and quoted in all British papers interested in immigration. It urged that foreigners go on the land, laboring until they could buy frontier lands and until they had mastered American methods of farming. Thus they would avoid the evils of city life and its recurrent seasons of idleness and succeed by industry and virtue. It warned Irishmen against intemperance with liquor, so cheap in America as compared with the highly taxed British whiskey:

The pernicious habit is to be guarded against as scrupulously for political as moral considerations. Civil liberty everywhere rests upon self respect, while degradation or voluntary debasement, is one of the causes of despotism.

Foreigners were well treated, it stated, and should become naturalized citizens at the earliest opportunity. Work was not scarce, at least in comparison to Ireland, and wages in New York for common laborers were as high as a dollar and a quarter a day, and for mechanics, two dollars. The construction of the Erie Canal would require thousands of laborers and would open for settlement the wild lands of western New York. In New York City alone, it was estimated, there were 12,000 Irishmen. Wisely, it gave little encouragement to shopkeepers, clerks, teachers and literary men, as America required artisans, farmers and laborers to develop her resources. For reliable information, it advised Melish's *Traveller's Directory through the United States* as the most authoritative in the new and increasing list of emigrant

guides. That the advice of this group of Irish patriots encouraged Irishmen, and for that matter British subjects in general, to come to New York, may pass without question.

The American Magazine, in reviewing the report of the canal commissioners in 1817, observed that the only impediment to the prosecution of manufactures was the high price of labor:

The prime cause of this enhancement of labour is the cheapness of land. This arises between the immense disproportion between the quantity of arable land in the country, and the number of hands to till it.

Yet, in the spirit of the age, the editor urged canals and roads to open further the lands of the West for cultivation. The high price and the shortage of labor accounted for the favorable reception of immigrants and the comparative absence of nativist hostility.

Irish leaders in New York were not unaware of the difficulties, the sporadic employment, and the poverty of the emigrants in the congested city, with a surplus of native labor in the postwar depression. Therefore the Irish Emigrant Association of New York, through a score of Irishmen of various faiths and supported by similar organizations in Philadelphia, Baltimore and St. Louis, vainly petitioned Congress for lands in Illinois for a tremendous colonizing program which over a period of years would be self-supporting and without cost to the government. In this connection it was noted that there were never before so many emigrants from Europe and that of these emigrants the larger part came from Ireland. They came without aim and settled too largely on the coast, where in competition with native and older labor they faced hostility and lost their self-respect. If they escaped the cities—and New York was already developing slums comparable to the rookeries of London, Glasgow or Dublin—they mixed with strangers who ridiculed the foreigners' peculiarities and held them in practice a burdensome lot,

regardless of vaunted boasts of America as the refuge for the oppressed of Europe. The petitioners maintained that Irishmen would be happier in colonies, more prosperous, more easily Americanized, and a greater source of strength to the nation. But Congress thought otherwise, and its Southern members were giving no undue support to western expansion. While the scheme came to naught, it was the beginning of an organized effort to locate Irish emigrants on the land and especially in the West.

CANAL BUILDING

New York was entering into the canal-building era; merchants, colonizers, land speculators, and the proponents of internal commerce had their way. New York City was to be linked with the West; western and northern New York were to be settled and developed. In eight years, the Champlain Canal from West Troy to Whitehall and the Erie Canal between Albany and Buffalo had been completed, and the immediate financial success led to the digging of canals in every direction: the Chenango from Utica to Binghamton; the Black River from Rome to Carthage; the Oswego from Syracuse to Oswego; the Cayuga from Seneca Lake to Cayuga Lake; the Delaware and Hudson from Eddyville to Lackawaxen; the Genesee Valley from Rochester to Olean; and the Chemung from Seneca Lake to Elmira and to Knoxville. In addition there were branches to these trunk canals. By 1840 there were either completed or well under way some 13 canals with a total mileage of 944 miles. In addition, there was the stupendous Croton Aqueduct of some 40 miles, from the Croton River to New York City, and 586 miles of railroad laid or projected.

Without Irish labor these canals could not have been built at this time. Irish laborers were almost professional canal-builders, with experience in Ireland, in England and even in France. They were, at least indirectly, imported by contractors through ad-

vertisements in the Irish and Catholic press, news items in Irish papers, and by the activities of labor recruiters in Ireland. America was seeking labor, even as in earlier years the Continental armies and the British East India Company recruited for soldiers. The Irish were strong and willing workers, easily tempted by competition and grog to labor at high speed. They were accustomed to hard and low standards of living. They were striving to maintain their families in New York, or their loved ones in Ireland to whom they were sending remittances and prepaid fares to America.

With pick and shovel, crowbar and wheelbarrow, they burrowed across the state. Wages were as low as fifty to seventy-five cents per day, but high in British terms. Shoveling was too back-breaking and lowly for the native American. Contractors made fortunes; subcontractors, some of them Irish bosses, made money. They advertised for more men than they could possibly use, thus forcing wages far below the published rates. They discharged men, who were thus stranded with many miles to walk to the next diggings. There were cases where men were defrauded of their wages or kept in deliberate indebtedness at contractors' stores. There was little law or justice for the foreigner. He was a white slave, an "Irish nigger," in native eyes. There was heavy drinking; and there were "county" fights, in which ignorant participants were injured and occasionally killed. There were conflicts between the Far-Ups and the Far-Downs, not infrequently to the advantage of the contractor in labor. There were secret societies which were condemned by churchmen but which were essentially fraternal organizations with the elements of unionism and self-protection based upon violence. Hundreds and hundreds of single men in unpoliced regions were guilty of no sabotage or destruction of property. These transient workers behaved better than Revolutionary soldiers on march. Still, they were "wild Irish" to the natives, for

they had different customs and a rough appearance; they spoke English with a brogue, or they spoke Gaelic among themselves; and they worshiped the same God, but in an unreformed way.

Missionary priests traveled over the canals saying mass in the largest shanty or in an open field. Men came for miles, sometimes marching in military formation under a petty boss, to attend religious services and to confess their sins. They contributed remarkably well to the building of churches and charitable asylums and to Irish relief and liberation. The priest settled many of their difficulties, for they met few understanding men of a class which they could trust. Thus the priest was a social worker quite as much as a minister of the gospel.

The Irish did more than merely dig canals across the state of New York. They made settlements along these canals and they firmly established the Catholic Church on these transportation lines, as was well stated by Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the Irish rebel and journalist:

The merchants of New York desired to unite Lake Erie to the Hudson for their own profit. An army of Catholic laborers is marshalled along the line. They penetrate from end-to-end of this great State. Their shanties spring up like mushrooms in the night, and often vanish like mists in the morning. To all human appearances they are only digging a canal. Stump orators praise them as usual spades and shovels, who help on the great work of making money. But looking back to-day, with the results of a third of a century before us, it is plain enough those poor, rude men were working on the foundations of three episcopal sees, were choosing sites for five hundred churches, were opening the interior of the State to the empire of religion, as well as of commerce.

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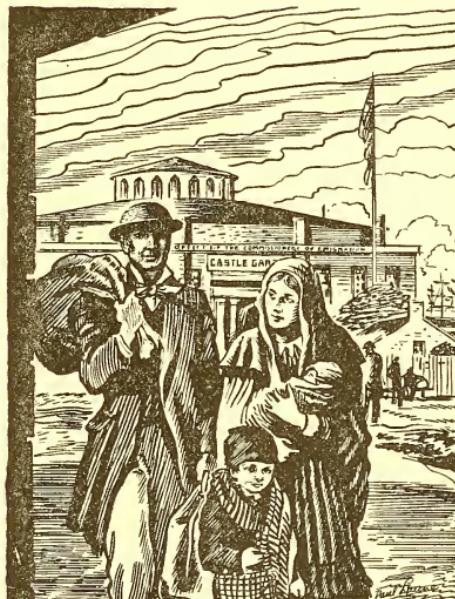
The bibliographies for Chapters I and II have been combined, and follow Chapter II.

IMMIGRATION FROM THE CANAL ERA TO THE CIVIL WAR

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IMMIGRATION FROM THE CANAL ERA TO THE CIVIL WAR

UPSTATE CITIES

WITH internal improvements, Albany witnessed the arrival of thousands of Irish laborers and still larger numbers of immigrants, bound for upper New York or for the far western settlements of that day. The city grew rapidly in population, and its Irish colony, not yet torn asunder by nativist hostilities, increased in wealth and respectability. Representatives of the foreign peoples were entering the professions, banking, business, the schools and local politics. Irish names appeared more regularly in municipal annals. In 1826 Tyler and Dillon ventured a new business, in the manufacture of portable furnaces. Within a few years Albany was turning out iron castings, stove plates and sheet iron, said to be superior to any produced in Europe. A thousand hands were employed, most of whom were Irish. James Cunningham won recognition as a builder of boilers and engines, especially for river boats. Michael O'Shaughnessy taught mathematics in the Albany Academy and was not an unworthy predecessor of the famous Joseph Henry. At the Albany Theatre, Irish actors added pleasure to the life of the city. Presbyterian and Catholic churches, as well as a German church, were built and served expanding congregations in a city whose population was about one-seventh foreign-born. Canal laborers brought their families and settled in neighboring towns, especially those in which some of their countrymen were already located. In Utica, where James Devlin, an early arrival, had been successful and where the Devereux family had a controlling interest in the banks, business and colonizing activities, enough Irishmen settled to build a frame church (1820).

German settlers soon followed, with enough Catholic Germans to erect a church (1840). Indeed, John Hogan, lawyer and land agent, was doing a prosperous business. In 1834 the foreign element attracted both parties. In answer to a circular urging the support of William L. Marcy for governor, another faction, in support of Seward's candidacy, declared: "That the Whigs have proven their confidence and friendship for the Irish citizens both in this city and elsewhere, by placing them on their congressional ticket, William Sampson, the co-patriot of Emmet, and distinguished native of Ireland, resolved that the Irish electors did not wear the collar in their own country and will not in this." And Michael McQuaid was astute enough to turn the county to the Whigs.

The Chenango Canal made Binghamton, in which Father Hurley, an Augustinian missionary from Pennsylvania, had found only a few Catholic families in 1835. Four years later a church was erected with the assistance of a Protestant railroad-promoter and collections from Limerick, whence many of the Irish had come. Transportation advantages brought into the region Scotch-Irish emigrants from Pennsylvania. With the immigration, Binghamton became an Irish center, with James Hourihan, a capable priest from Tipperary, as its magnet.

While Salina (Syracuse) early in the nineteenth century had Irish salt workers, laborers, storekeepers, and an occasional schoolmaster, their residence was made insecure by hostile, masked bands. In the canal days their number increased so that the Irish citizens were able adequately to protect themselves. The quarries of Onondaga County required sturdy laborers, of whom many came from Tipperary, and a large proportion of these immigrants came via Quebec after 1830. In the official anxiety to send immigrants to Canada, fares quoted to Quebec from Derry, Belfast and Dublin were as low as thirty shillings in 1831, and from Cork, fifty shillings, while steerage fares to

New York from Liverpool, Cork and Limerick were ninety shillings. For this reason western New York drew its foreign population more from Canada than through the port of New York.

Boarding houses along the canal might have half the counties represented, although there was occasionally a keeper who would accommodate men only from his own county or province. There were men who amassed wealth, and who had interesting careers: James Foran, a physician; Dennis Driscoll, a contractor, whose son was a captain in the Civil War; Patrick Agan, editor of the *Onondaga Standard* and a proponent of the Adirondack State Park; Moses Summers, son of a stonemason on the Erie, and editor of the *Loyal Georgian*, as he marched through Georgia with Sherman; Patrick McLoughlin, who was killed in the Mexican War; Nicholas Downes, inventor of a patent filter; Thomas McCarthy, a wealthy salt manufacturer, dry-goods merchant and church builder, whose son, Mayor Dennis McCarthy, won a place in the legislature and in Congress.

To the northward in Oswego County, immigrants appeared after the war. Among the colonizers was George Scriba, a merchant of New York, who was said to have expended and lost a fortune in land deals. In the 1830s, Catholic immigrants were numerous enough to establish a church in Oswego, and ten years later a handsome brick edifice was built. With the Oswego Canal and the opening of the Welland Canal, the county prospered and the town grew rich in trade in salt, lumber and cooperage, as the German and Irish immigrants poured into the towns and countryside.

Rochester, founded by Nathaniel Rochester and two Maryland promoters, Charles Carroll and William Fitzhugh, remained a village until the Erie Canal connected it with the Hudson and Lake Erie, when its growth became rapid. In 1820, a small congregation of Irish and German laborers and farmers

was attended by Irish priests. Within the decade, there was an enlarged church, St. Patrick's, to which native Americans contributed liberally (1832), and which was presided over by Bernard O'Reilly, later Bishop of Hartford, Connecticut; and a Hibernian Benefit Society under Rev. Michael McNamara which included Scotch-Irish as well as South-Irish members. A Presbyterian Charity School had seventy-five pupils, twenty-three of whom were Catholics. In 1836, John S. Raffeiner, the apostle of the Germans throughout the state, organized St. Mary's German Church with the aid of the Leopoldine Foundation of Vienna, a year after the German Lutheran Church had been established. Within a few years, German farmers settled the county; and in the city even the German Catholics became sufficiently numerous to support their own racial church. By this time there were parochial schools, a Hibernian Temperance Society and a nativist movement against the growing foreign population. Among the Irish local leaders were Henry O'Rielly, editor of the *Rochester Advertiser*, author of *Sketches of Western New York* (1838) as well as many tracts, a promoter of telegraph lines in competition with Morse, and a prominent political figure; the Purcell family, one of whose members became a leading Democrat and editor of the *Union and Daily Advertiser*; and Patrick Barry, editor of the *Genesee Farmer* (1844-52), and of the *Horticulturist* (1852-1854).

About 1825, there appeared the first members of a small Norwegian colony in Monroe County; but while several thousand Scandinavians landed at New York prior to 1860, this colony did not grow, as the newcomers passed on to the West. Along the Genesee River, there was a New England and Irish settlement in the Gorham, Galusha and Shamrock tracts. At Dublin, the Irish predominated, first as laborers and in the second generation as millers, coopers, storekeepers and proprietors of inns.

Buffalo was a product of the Erie Canal. In 1800 there were only a few log cabins and Con O'Neil's ferry. Burned by the British in 1813, the village grew rapidly after the war, most of the settlers being New Englanders and Irish immigrants from Canada. Yet despite the Celtic names, Father Frank Kelly on his visitation in 1820 found only five Catholic families. Eight years later, Bishop Dubois found seven or eight hundred Catholics, a majority of whom were French, German and Swiss, that being about one-tenth of the town's population. As early as 1804, Louis Stephen de Couteulx de Chaumont came as an agent of the Holland Land Company. A Frenchman of the old régime, who had married the niece of General Touzard who served with Rochambeau in America, he had been associated with the ventures of Morris and naturally brought Frenchmen to the Holland Company's lands. He gave a site for St. Louis' Church, of which he was a benefactor, and later aided the Irish residents in establishing a church. As early as 1825, there was a resident priest. The Irish contingent grew rapidly enough to be assigned a portion of the potter's field for burials in 1832, there being no cemetery for them until 1850, and no special burial ground for French and Germans until 1859. Lockport, Black Rock, Albion and Mount Morris became canal centers. Indeed Lockport had an Orange riot in 1824, in accordance with the bad habits both varieties of Irish brought with them from Ontario. In 1847 Buffalo became a diocesan see. In 1853 D'Arcy M'Gee established the ephemeral *Celt and Catholic Citizen*. With the canal business, the Great Lakes trade and railroad building, in which Gen. Aaron Riley was a factor, Buffalo became the Queen City, with the chief foreign group German.

German immigrants trickled into Erie County and Buffalo after 1820, the first one of prominence being Philip Mayer, a preacher and teacher. After 1830, there was a considerable movement from Mecklenburg, Alsace and South Germany, of

Lutherans, Catholics and Republican refugees. In 1832, German and French Catholics were favored by such able priests as Johannes Maerz and Joseph Sorg despite intermittent trustee difficulties for a generation. Evangelican, Lutheran and Old Lutheran parishes, as well as German schools, were founded for immigrants who usually came in groups accompanied by a minister or a teacher. Yet among them there was a leaning toward infidelity and parsimonious establishments for religion. In 1837, the young Germans in two companies took more than a neutral interest in the Patriot's War. In this year, George Zahm, keeper of a bookstore, published *Der Weltbürger* which aimed to instruct its readers in German and American affairs and long waged a campaign against nativism, energetically protesting against the persecution of immigrants and stressing their rights as guaranteed by law and by the Constitution. In the forties, John M. Meyer established Whig papers, and H. B. Miller founded the *Telegraph*, which in ten years became a daily paper in competition with the *Freie Press* (1855), which did not become a daily paper until 1872. In 1858, C. Wieckmann established the *Aurora*, a Catholic journal which in time was followed by the *Volksfreund* (1868) and Father Sorg's *Christliche Woche* (1875). With the coming of the men of Forty-eight, of whom the best known were Doctors Weiss and Baethig and Carl Gruener, an innkeeper, there was a growth and rejuvenation of the German colony. This was signalized by the establishment of Carl Esslinger's *Demokrat* (1848); the Harugari, later a life-insurance company; the Liedertafel singing society; lodges of the Odd Fellows and the Free Masons; and the Turnverein (1853). The Turnverein formed a phalanx against Know-Nothings and in its national convention, held in Buffalo in 1856, urged the abolition of slavery; the Germans with their foreign-language press, their own societies and churches, and their clannishness, faced a hostile nativism which kept them

politically impotent despite their numbers. Not until 1876 was a German elected mayor and, aside from the postmaster, none held a Federal office. In 1861, the members of the society backed their antislavery views with the New York Turner Regiment. The Germans had come to stay and rapidly settled the lands of Erie County, but after 1861 few German immigrants stopped in western New York; they pushed on into the West, as did some of the Ebenezer Society who had settled (1844), two thousand strong, on the Ogden lands in West Seneca.

RURAL NEW YORK

Even before 1800 a few Welsh had located in Utica and they formed the only considerable foreign immigration to Oneida County in early days. By 1802 both a Baptist church and a Congregational church had been formed. The Welsh settled mainly in the towns of Steuben, Remsen and Trenton.

The Black River Canal brought Irish laborers into Jefferson County, and a church was established at Carthage in 1818, which cared for scattered laborers and German and Irish farmers, some of whom came via Canada immediately after the War of 1812. It was in Jefferson and Lewis Counties that James Le Ray de Chaumont and his son, Vincent, were establishing colonies as agents of a French land company. Their first colonists were largely Catholics—French, Germans and Irish—of whom a generous proportion were from Counties Meath and Monaghan. The Irish contingent landed at Quebec, where they were met by Le Ray's agents. Of the French, some were veterans of Napoleon's army. Indeed Le Ray was visited not only by President Monroe but by Joseph Bonaparte. Croghan was a German settlement, and a model, with churches, schools and no discord. In neighboring Lowville there were Bavarians and Irish farmers from Meath and Tipperary and quite naturally from crowded New York.

Saratoga County ceased to be a New England plantation after 1800, when Irish settlers appeared in numbers. The Champlain Canal (1818), the Schenectady-Saratoga Railroad (1831), Waterford factories, and Jeremiah Colles' wagon works and Sullivan's clothing works in Stillwater brought Irish laborers and artisans, chiefly from Waterford, Cork and Limerick, some of whom became farmers. As early as 1819, Saratoga Springs had at least four Irish innkeepers, although there was no Catholic chapel for twenty years.

In the northern counties, construction work, lumber camps, quarries and farms, even before railroad building had progressed to any degree, brought a sprinkling of Irish who came chiefly via Canada. At any rate Protestant churches were purchased or frame and even stone churches were built by Irish and French Catholics in Ogdensburg, Watertown, Hogansburg, Keeseville, Plattsburg, Fort Covington, Massena and Malone by 1840. Visiting priests also ministered to lesser settlements, as at Port Henry, where Irish labor found employment in the iron mines; at Trout River, Clayton, Ausable Forks and Rogersfield, where there were mines; at Codyville and Black Brook, where there were tanneries; and at Brasher Falls. As early as 1853, a local historian reported eleven Catholic churches in the settlements of Saint Lawrence and Franklin Counties. Some of the settlers were attracted by the advertisements and agents of the Ogden land interest. Some of them came before and during the Canadian Revolt of 1837, in fear of approaching trouble or because of difficulties in which they were incriminated, though most of the Irish in Canada were commendably loyal to the British régime. Hogansburg and Bombay were founded by Michael Hogan, who bought a tract of ten thousand acres in Franklin County which he improved and settled with Irish people, probably from New York rather than direct from Ireland. Hogan was an interesting figure, born in County Clare, a sailor who

rose to a midshipman in the British navy, married a Hindoo from Bombay, built a fortune in the East, established himself as a merchant in New York, served as American consul in Valparaiso, and died a poor man in Washington while his son was a member of Congress. In Essex County, immigrants were slow to settle on the land or in the small towns, though there were Scots at McIntyre's Alba Iron Works as early as 1809, and probably Irish and Scotch workers at Williamsburg, where Charles Kane and his associates from Schenectady had an anchor foundry (1801).

Canals brought enough Irish laborers and farmers to the region about Seneca and Cayuga Lakes so that there were Catholic churches at Auburn (1834), Seneca Falls (1836), and Geneva (1831). Steuben County had attracted Scotch-Irish farmers, with Bath and Tyrone as centers, since 1790, and among them there was a sprinkling of Celts and a generous allotment of Germans after 1830. In the Chemung Valley, there were Irish leaders before the appearance of canals: John Hughes, whose son, George Wurtz Hughes, gained fame as a soldier and topographical engineer; McGreery and O'Flyng, zealous Methodist preachers; farmers and coopers in and about the rich region of Elmira. With the canal and the Erie Railroad, the Irish arrived. As usual there was a Catholic congregation (1842) and a church a half-dozen years later. While there were several Irish families in the Scotch-Irish and German settlements in Allegany and Genesee Counties, including schoolmasters, innkeepers, and tailors, the Irish element actually dated from the construction of the Genesee Canal (1837), which brought laborers especially from Waterford, Tipperary and Limerick. At this time, James McBride of New York and Nicholas Devereux of Utica were advertising the sale of a hundred thousand acres in the Genesee region and striving in every way to attract Irish and German farmers. Canal-digging brought Irish settlers to

Belfast about 1853. In Livingston County, there were Scots and Scotch-Irish after 1800, Scots who emigrated to this new Caledonia rather than serve in the fencibles, while the Scotch-Irish were largely migrants from Pennsylvania. After 1820, there were Germans in sufficient number to have a Catholic congregation (1836) and a large Irish element which aided in establishing Presbyterian, Episcopalian and, later, Catholic churches.

Sullivan County, like Delaware County, was a Scotch-Irish and German stronghold, the early Germans coming over the Pennsylvania line. Thomas Quinlan, a physician and scholar from Waterford, was one of the earliest Irish settlers, and his son, James, the outstanding Methodist exhorter. That nativist strength was dominant was indicated by the attack on Felix Kelly, when running for sheriff (1840), on the score that he was a Catholic—strange rites had been observed in the burial of his child—and the premeditated killing of a foreigner by a man who boasted that no American would be hanged for shooting an Irishman. He seemed to be right, for the sentence was life imprisonment for manslaughter. With the construction of the Delaware and Hudson Canal, the Irish famine and the establishment of tanneries, the Irish came in numbers. Of their character a local historian spoke well:

They were unable to maintain a resident priest. To go to mass and confession, and to marry, and to have their children baptized, they were obliged to travel from forty to one hundred miles.

In the meantime, the Irish immigrants were pushing up the Hudson River, where missions were conducted by Philip Lariscy, an Augustinian friar, and Philip O'Reilly, a product of Bologna and former chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. There were churches or chapels at Newburgh (1826), Poughkeepsie (1836), Nyack, Harlem (1834), Saugerties (1832, 1843), where there were iron works, paper mills and quarries; and, at

Haverstraw (1849), a center of brick manufacturing. The Croton Aqueduct, the Harlem Railroad and, a little later, the Hudson Railroad, brought Irish laborers, some of whom became permanent settlers in the small towns.

METROPOLITAN NEW YORK

Immigrants were well received, yet there were conflicts between natives and foreigners, especially in metropolitan New York. The first serious riot occurred as the result of the march of a mob on St. Peter's Church to interrupt services. The Irish were aroused, and the opposing forces met on Christmas night (1806) with bloody vengeance in their ignorant minds. The Irish believed that the local officers would not protect them and relied on the old method of defending themselves. In the street-fighting, a watchman was killed and several rioters were injured when the nativists attacked houses in the Irish section. Mayor De Witt Clinton intervened; a number of rioters received trivial sentences; and a recent historian could excuse the nativists on the score that the Irish "separateness in life and habits invited it." Far more than a religious quarrel, it was an economic conflict of native laborers against competitors who could live cheaper and who would labor harder under terms dictated by employers. Naturally Catholic immigrants were marked off, rather than the more numerous British immigrants of other faiths, who merged easily into the native Protestant population. The following spring a Federalist effort to win the local election with an "American ticket" failed. Democrats, on the other hand, appealed successfully for the allegiance of Irish voters. Political nativism was no doubt delayed by the War of 1812 and the stirring period of economic expansion which followed.

The postwar depression resulted in a temporary stoppage of factories and public works with the resultant unemployment of native labor. This, together with a fever epidemic (1819)

and exaggerated reports of immigration based upon arrivals in weeks during the height of the season, aroused popular fear of foreigners which caused the Department of State, in accordance with a law of March 2, 1819, to order ship captains to list all passengers as to age, sex, occupation and nationality, and to give the number of deaths en route. This act also attempted to guard immigrants against the frightfulness of the voyage by limiting the number of immigrants to two for every five tons ship-burden and by specifying the required ration of food and water. There were also reports of the failure of immigrants, especially English, to become naturalized citizens. Yet this fault could not have been general, as there were only 5,084 unnaturalized aliens in New York City in 1820, as compared to 3,495 in 1813, and 6,989 in 1816.

Despite unfavorable accounts of the United States in the foreign press, immigration increased, nor was England to turn her emigrants in relatively increasing numbers to the British colonies, especially after 1835. Of the immigrants to Canada, it was estimated that at least a fourth found their way across the line, an unknown number settling in western New York. *Niles Register* (1826) noted that "The Northern frontier swarms with newly arrived Irish people." Suggestive statistics of arrivals at the port of New York were now made available, especially with the passage of an immigration act by the legislature in 1824. From 1820 to 1840, about a half million passengers landed in New York, including fully twenty per cent returning Americans, aliens who had gone home to bring back their kinsfolk, and some arrivals on coastal vessels. There is no record of the arrivals in New York who came via the ports of New Jersey, where entry was less formal and expensive. The following tabulation shows roughly the arrivals at New York: 1817, 7,634; 1819, 9,442; 1820, 4,430; 1821, 4,452; 1822, 4,811; 1823, 4,999; 1824, 5,452; 1825, 8,779; 1826,



NEW YORK HARBOR, 1847

9,764; 1827, 22,000; 1828, 19,023; 1829, 16,064; 1830, 30,224; 1831, 31,739; 1832, 48,589; 1833, 41,752; 1834, 48,110; 1835, 35,303; 1836, 60,411; 1837, 54,975; 1838, 25,681; 1839, 48,152; 1840, 61,103; 1841, 57,334; 1842, 51,800.

Fully three-fourths of the immigrants were from the British Isles, with about one-third to one-half of the British quota from Ireland. The Irish immigrants from 1815 to 1835 included a large majority of Presbyterians and Protestants, not only from Ulster and Dublin, but from the Protestant colonies in the south and west. A well-informed contemporary writer saw the exodus of Protestants of the lower order as one of Ireland's greatest ills, weakening the Established Church and "leaving scowling popery where gentle, smiling Protestantism once flourished." He could truthfully add:

The Romanist takes possession of the land and the Protestant takes his passage to America. . . . There is scarcely a family of the lower order of Protestants which has not some member or near relative already in America, and all are longing to flee away from this ill-fated island, looking forward with anxiety to the time when they can so arrange their little affairs, so as to be enabled to emigrate with some prospect of success.

In four years (1829-32), 94,000 Protestants had gone—farmers, artisans, household manufacturers and laborers. After 1830, the Celtic movement became marked until, by 1840, it reached a majority of the total British emigration, rising in the next decade to three-fourths of the British total. After 1840, too, the Irish were coming to New York as the chief port and the sailings to Quebec declined, as the bulk of the immigrants found their way to Liverpool as deck passengers on steamboats across the Irish Sea. From Liverpool, they were inclined to ship on American boats.

Of the Germans who settled in New York, nearly half were

Catholics, the remainder being Lutherans and rationalists. Of the Germans a fair percentage landed at England's North Sea ports on small schooners, often crossing the island on foot and shipping from Liverpool. In considering Catholic immigrants, estimates of Catholic numbers in New York City are of interest: 1,300 in 1800; 4,462 in 1802; 14,000 in 1808; 15,500 in 1810; 16,000 in 1816; 25,000 in 1826; 35,000 in 1829; and 300,000 in 1856. For the diocese at large, that is approximately the state, semiofficial guesses indicated some 50,000 Catholics in 1820; 150,000 in 1827; 185,000 in 1829; 200,000 in 1833; and 300,000 in 1846, when there were 109 priests as compared to 7 in 1821.

In Brooklyn, the foreign growth was quite noticeable. Among the Irish, there was only a sprinkling of Celts prior to the establishment of St. James' Church (1823) — schoolmasters; artisans in the Navy Yard; Q. M. Sullivan, a physician; George McCloskey, a milkman whose son became Bishop of Louisville; distillers; stevedores; storekeepers and merchants. In 1826, the Erin Fraternal Association attended mass and had a banquet presided over by Robert Snow, an Irish Methodist. But such harmony failed before nativism a decade or so later, when the Irish and German Catholics were sufficiently numerous to support four or five churches, as well as schools and charitable institutions. In 1838, the *Truth Teller* could honestly enough maintain that if the defunct *Brooklyn Native Citizen* had been able to drive out the Irish, Brooklyn would have been a city "to let."

The foreigner, and especially the Irish immigrant, challenged attention and growing criticism. Hostile spokesmen maintained that foreigners were a social burden, crowding prisons, houses of refuge and orphanages. Statistics were being collected which, unexplained, proved the nativist contention. Foreigners received more rigorous justice than natives. They were in the

lower class of society. They lived in the congested districts of cities. An increasing urban population, with its disorder and crime, was attracting attention. In larger proportion, foreigners were young single men and women away from the restraints of home. They drank heavily and more openly and, with the divorce of grogshops from groceries, an unusually large proportion of neighborhood saloons were in Irish and German hands. Germans were charged with being atheists and radicals. There was strife between Germans and Irish, sometimes obviously stimulated by employers, "rugged individualists" in search of cheaper labor. There were conflicts between foreigners and Negroes. Foreigners were jeered at and oppressed, and they resented this by fights and riots, feeling that the law was not for them. They were defrauded of their pay. In serious crimes, the foreigners' record was not bad; in lesser affairs, it was out of proportion to their numbers. Among the Irish, there was undue drunkenness and fighting among themselves, but little sexual vice, virtually none among their womenfolk. In hazardous work, unaccustomed to the extremes of climate, they were apt to fall sick and become unemployable. Their mortality was greater. They left orphans and dependent widows, for theirs was a hand-to-mouth existence. Their work was irregular and seasonal, and their employers, who profited by their labor, left them a burden on the community. Hence they were in want of aid and rated high in the list of paupers.

In studying prison reform, the British consul at New York compiled figures of inmates of Sing Sing and Auburn prisons:

	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832
Sing Sing, Total	143	163	356	352	264
Sing Sing, Irish	13	3	15	22	22
Auburn, Total	174	170	114	174	192
Auburn, Irish	15	10	3	12	13

In Albany, the almshouse on December 14, 1829, had 214 inmates: 93 natives, 40 Irishmen, 7 Englishmen, 3 Scots and 3 Germans. Of those receiving relief in 1831, 460 were natives and 355 were foreigners. On May 1, 1834, the New York Almshouse had 1,693 inmates, of whom 460 were Irish, 140 English, 47 Germans and 35 Scots.

In 1837, the Whig-American mayor and council complained that the city was ruined by paupers from European lazars houses and aliens who avoided the port tax by coming through New Jersey. There were 113,347 arrivals in 1836 and 1837, who paid \$116,963 in commutation money, which left a large surplus after caring for their less fortunate brethren. Foreign paupers were charged by the city at the high rate of \$4 per week against the accumulated surplus of this immigrant tax. A friend of the immigrant urged that the arrivals of 1837 included paupers who could be cared for at \$2,000 or \$3,000, while in taxes and in fares to New York shippers immigrants were worth almost \$1,500,000. Again 90 per cent of the immigrants were sturdy persons of more initiative than the ordinary member of the lower middle class from which they sprang, and in the prime of life with the cost of their rearing on the country of their nativity. In 1839, 2,432 inmates of the almshouse were classified as 1,167 natives and 1,265 foreigners.

The situation of the Irish in New York was well described by Cobbett, who noted that most of the hazardous work was done by these people, who owned thousands of carts in New York City, loaded and unloaded ships, and contributed three-fourths of the laborers and mechanics in the shipyards. He continued:

I was told by General Swartwout of that City who had taken in large tracts of marsh land, by excluding the seawater, that, in executing of the great labour necessary to effect his purpose, he tried Germans, Switzers, English, Yankees, and Irish: but, that he found, at last, that when real hard labour had to be performed; when wet and cold had to be faced, none would stick by him but the Irish. As long as

the weather was pretty fine and the toils not great, he found the others good humoured enough; but when his works gave way, and he wanted men to go up to their middle in water, he could get none to assist him but the Irish. He told me that a good word bestowed upon an Irishman, did more than a handful of dollars upon anybody else.

The Irish population became acclimated and soon furnished more than laborers and domestics who emancipated native women from the kitchens. In 1830, the Irish element was almost self-sufficient with its own papers, fraternal societies, lawyers, physicians, academies, teachers, merchants of every kind, publishers and booksellers, and its lesser political leaders. It was when they became conscious of their improving status and increasing numbers that they met organized nativist hostility, which was political, racial, social, religious and especially economic in character.

NATIVISM IN POLITICS

The foreign vote was becoming an object of solicitation by party leaders; and as it was largely Democratic, Whigs played politics with antiforeign patriotic pronouncements. Foreigners were becoming a problem in the community. Then there was the sectarian reaction following Catholic Emancipation in England as anti-Catholic agitators pointed to the foundation of churches and institutions. In 1834, the *New York Observer* published twelve letters by Brutus (Samuel F. B. Morse), later republished in *The Foreign Conspiracy*, in which he pictured the assistance granted to German Catholic churches by the Leopoldine Society of Vienna as a means by which the Papacy and the Holy Alliance hoped to obtain ecclesiastical control in America and to overthrow its hated democracy. And the same year, the New York Protestant Association was founded "to spread the knowledge of gospel truth and show wherein it is inconsistent with the tenets and dogmas of popery."

The following year was turbulent. A meeting under the

auspices of the Protestant Association was broken up by the Irish (March 13, 1835). Within a fortnight, two wards offered a nativist ticket with the Whig press encouraging the movement as a means of breaking Democratic strength. The usual rowdyism at the polls was held more reprehensible when foreign bullies engaged therein. The spring elections went Democratic. Nativists in a virtuous mood held meetings to protest the dismissal of a superannuated Revolutionary veteran from his employment at the instance of a foreign member of the city council. Posing as exponents of higher citizenship and relying on religious bigotry and an Anglo-Saxon superiority over the Celt, the nativists resolved that "while we open the door to the oppressed of every nation and offer a home and an asylum," they reserved to themselves the right of administering the government. *The Courier and Enquirer*, *The Star*, and the *Commercial Advertiser* charged the Irish with all the disorders. Hearing of a projected attack upon St. Patrick's Cathedral and the orphan asylum, 6,000 Irish gathered, but dispersed when Father Thomas Levins promised that the police would protect the institutions. In the Orange riots, Dr. M'Caffrey was killed but no effort was made to apprehend the assassins. It was asked what would be the situation if an Irish mob had killed an American physician or even a Negro. Yet, with native mobs crying down the Irish, ransacking homes, threatening churches and stoning the orphan asylum, only Irishmen were incarcerated, as the mob rescued native rioters under arrest. Democrats, in fear, made only native nominees; yet their ticket carried the fall elections by a good majority, James Monroe, a nephew of President Monroe, being defeated on the nativist ticket for Congress. During the winter, a nativist petition with 5,000 names urged Congress to modify the naturalization laws.

In the spring of 1836, the nativists named Morse, a Van Buren Democrat, for mayor, but in a four-cornered fight he

received only 1,490 votes against 15,950 for the Democratic candidate. In the wards a fusion nativist-Whig ticket was successful, and anti-Democrats gained control of the council. In the fall, the national election overshadowed the local situation, giving the Democrats a small minority. In the spring of 1837, a nativist-Whig coalition elected Aaron Clark mayor, by a majority of 3,300 votes, and won a majority of the council. It was a temporary victory, for the Whigs were growing too conscious of their strength in the panic years to amalgamate with nativists; yet the nativist sentiment was kept alive in societies and in petitions to the Assembly and to Congress denouncing the foreign menace to the purity of American politics and advocating the old Federalist plank of twenty-one years for naturalization. Again, some Whig leaders were becoming tactful enough to appeal to the foreign vote and to win over Irish leaders with patronage.

With Seward and Thurlow Weed in control of the Whigs and with the spirited Bishop Hughes and the shrewd Dr. John Power in command of the Irish group of some 70,000, the situation changed. Heretofore the Irish had lacked leadership. Bishop Dubois, as a Frenchman who had experienced the Revolutionary Terror, feared democracy and neither understood America nor his Irish subjects. If anything, Hughes was a Whig at heart for he had even heretically voted against Andrew Jackson. He and Seward and Weed became friends, and their friendship lasted longer than the Whig party. Unlike lay leaders, Hughes was interested in greater things than local jobs and petty honors thrown out by the Democratic party as sop for votes. He would have the parochial schools receive a pro-rata share of public taxes; he would reform the Public School Society, which was "decidedly Protestant in its membership and ideas"; he would test American principles of toleration and democracy; he would bargain with both parties with no delusions as to the

high-minded character and idealism of their manipulators; he would divorce the Irish from their consciousness of foreign birth and inferiority. Whether he was right or wrong, he dared take a stand.

In 1840, Governor Seward in his annual message advocated "The establishment of schools in which they [Catholics] may be instructed by teachers speaking the same language with themselves and professing the same faith." Catholic petitions for a share of the school funds were twice denied by the Democratic city council. In 1841, an attempt of nativists to organize the Democratic American Association failed and the Assembly shelved the Catholic petition. In both parties, there was strong nativist support of the School Society and the allegedly public schools whose Bible was the King James version, whose textbooks were stoutly sectarian, and whose teachers were overly zealous denominationalists. Democratic support of the School Society was denounced by an Irish meeting. The Democratic party was going nativist in its selection of a slate and in its declaration against sectarian schools. The newly established American Protestant Union under Morse demanded religious views of candidates in its avowed effort "to preserve ourselves and secure to posterity the religious, civil, and political principles of our country, according to the spirit of our ancestors as embodied and set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the federal Constitution." Hughes was denounced as few men in American life have been denounced; yet he was leading his people out of Egypt.

The Irish were virtually ignored in party councils and unrecognized on party slates. They were unwelcome in Tammany. They were met with signs "No Irish Need Apply." Their daughters faced aggressive proselytism in the kitchens of their mistresses. Their children were ridiculed in the schools by teachers paid from public funds. A little thing, but it was a

terrible cry in young ears, the childish shout on streets and school grounds: "Hit him again, he is Irish." In the old land there was no bitterness compared to this, and bigotry at worst was only seasonal. Yet the Irish were growing numerous, and some were rising in business, in the professions, and in the trades. They held the balance of political power, and they did not lack in political intuition and the genius for political intrigue.

Hughes called his Carroll Hall meeting; and a Catholic ticket was put in the field for the fall election of 1841. This slate included the favored candidates of other groups and an occasional popular Irishman. Time was short and there was little campaigning. Yet on election day, the Catholic ticket had 2,200 votes; the anti-Catholics, 470; the Democrats, 15,690; and the Whigs, 15,890. Hughes proved that Democrats needed Irish support, for only their white-listed candidates were elected, and that organized Irish voters could at will throw an election to the Whigs. And politicians learn easily.

Governor Seward, despite many protests, signed the school bill under which public schools were to be controlled by an elective board, which long remained Protestant rather than Episcopalian. So, in a sense, the victory redounded to the advantage of the Protestant sectarian who did not belong to the old established order. The public schools were to be secularized in management and in teaching.

Dissatisfied with the results, Hughes gave his force to the establishment of parochial schools under religious communities from Ireland and the Continent, which were induced to establish institutions in America. He was bitterly attacked until, during the Civil War, the Federal Administration required his support, when local Democracy was colored with copperheadism. In the spring elections of 1842, with their recurrent riots, Catholic property was destroyed and churches menaced. Again, dire threats were made, in 1844, when Catholic churches were

being burned in Philadelphia, but Hughes demanded and won municipal protection with a bold statement that otherwise the Irish in New York would protect their own homes and institutions.

THE INDUSTRIAL ERA, 1841-60

The two decades preceding the Civil War witnessed a tremendous industrial development in New York, a large increase in population, especially in the urban centers, a huge influx of immigrants, a violent antiforeign campaign, the creation of an organization to handle and protect new arrivals, and an interesting trek of foreigners across the state into the West, which offered cheap lands and an official welcome. It was the period in which the immigrant found himself, and in which the state reconciled itself to its foreignization.

Irishmen were laying rails at high speed, and borrowed European capital was paying for the rails. Only two score miles of canals were dug after 1844, aside from the widenings of the main arteries, while in 1850 there were already 2,345 miles of railroad, with 564 miles under construction, at a cost of nearly one hundred million dollars. From 1851 to 1860, the railroad mileage brought into use each year was as follows: 442.45, 404, 156, 161, 27, 46, 32, 1.25, 15.53, and 11 miles. These figures indicate why contractors sought cheap labor and favored immigration, and also the fall in the labor market in the bad years after 1854. With railroad building there was the further opening of western New York and the growth into large urban centers of the cities which had been created by the canals. Again there was the rise of industries, the linking of the port of New York with western trade. And immigrant brawn contributed in no small way to this rapid development.

Aroused by criticism leveled at immigrants, the hardships encountered by foreigners, and the failure of an abortive society

in 1839, Irish leaders, supported by Bishop Hughes and John Power, established the Irish Emigrant Society (1841), on a non-sectarian, nonpartisan basis, although most of the promoters were Catholics and also members of the Irish Repeal Association. Its purpose was identical with that of the successful German Emigrant Society and the less formal organizations which aided French, Dutch and Italian arrivals. Its problem was more difficult than handling Germans; for they generally came in large groups with a decided plan, and were apt to be en route to western farms, while the Irish just came, leaving destination and future to chance. An agent of the society boarded every ship, advised perplexed immigrants who were directed to its offices, protected them and their baggage from criminal runners of their own race, warned against extortionate boarding-house harpies and aided them in procuring canal and railroad tickets if they were journeying upstate or westward. The society courageously defended immigrants from unfounded criticism; admitted the weakness of immigrants; recommended honest agencies through which remittances and prepaid tickets might be sent to Ireland; urged newcomers to go on the land and avoid the squalid poverty of New York's foreign quarter; warned against agents upstate who decried western lands as unhealthy; exposed frauds of boarding-house keepers, forwarders of immigrants, crooked contractors and ship brokers who were influential in Albany; recommended temperance with the admonition that a Father Mathew Medal offered the best character; kept an eye on the labor market; urged that similar societies be established in Cork and Dublin; advised the Irish press concerning opportunities and dangers in America; counseled direct passage to America rather than by the Canadian route; and worked in complete harmony with other societies, British consular agents and the clergy, some of whom did valiant work as employment agents. It urged protective legislation and was largely instru-

mental, together with the German Society, in promoting the legislative establishment of the State Emigration Commissioners (1847). It suggested that immigrants were a labor asset; that, in the single year of 1844, only five per cent remained in the city; and that in 1843, every immigrant paid twelve dollars in passage money and a dollar commutation tax and that on arrival he averaged twenty dollars in pocket. As a supplementary work, Bishop Hughes introduced the Sisters of Mercy from Dublin (1849), who opened a refuge for working girls, which, within five years, sheltered 2,300 women and found employment for over 5,000. During the Civil War, this community had charge of a military hospital in North Carolina. In 1851, there was organized the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank, which protected immigrants' money and handled remittances.

As a result of the racial societies' campaign against frauds practiced on immigrants, the legislature appointed a committee, which included two foreigners, to investigate and report upon the whole matter. Sworn testimony of witnesses engaged in every immigrant activity described the various predatory enterprises of runners and gangsters who surrounded immigrants and brought them to boarding-house keepers and forwarding agents, who in turn overcharged them for services, robbed them, sold them spurious tickets and frightened them into subjection. The Holland agent claimed that he was in danger of his life from armed thugs. Irishmen preyed upon Irishmen, much as in Liverpool, Germans upon Germans. Stool pigeons, watchmen and political tricksters were all a part of the heinous system. Investigation showed that the lowest rates were cheap enough: \$1.00 to Albany, \$1.50 to Utica, \$2.25 to Syracuse, \$2.50 to Lockport and \$3.00 to Buffalo. But few immigrants obtained these favorable passages until the emigrant commissioners, appointed under the Act of 1847, established their headquarters

at Castle Garden (1855), where there was ample space for all necessary facilities.

In accordance with this law and its modifications, appointed commissioners of emigration, including the heads of the German and the Irish societies ex officio, were charged with handling immigrants; guarding them against abuses; collecting the commutation tax (\$1.50, later \$2, per head); compiling statistics as to age, nativity, sex and occupation of every alien arrival; examining persons likely to be a burden, for whom a bond of \$300 should be exacted from the ship captain; and listing all defectives. Under the close supervision of interested groups, the commissioners gradually improved their organization and employed agents and physicians of foreign background, as well as merely native politicians. Their annual reports (1847-60) gave a complete picture of immigration problems and led to benevolent, protective legislation.

From May 5, 1847, to December 31, 1860, there were 2,671,-891 arrivals in New York, fully the number of white inhabitants of the original thirteen states in 1776. Of these immigrants, Ireland furnished 1,107,034; Germany, 979,575; England, 315,-625; Scotland, 71,535; France, 57,591; Switzerland, 43,625; the Netherlands, 19,635; Wales, 17,276; Norway, 13,793; Sweden, 11,547; Italy, 9,949; Belgium, 4,769; Spain, 4,537; Denmark, 3,346; Poland, 2,406; Portugal, 1,176; and Russia, 511. The total by years is quite as interesting: 1847, 129,062; 1848, 189,176; 1849, 220,603; 1850, 212,796; 1851, 289,601; 1852, 300,992; 1853, 284,945; 1854, 319,223; 1855, 136,233; 1856, 142,342; 1857, 183,773; 1858, 78,589; 1859, 79,322; and 1860, 105,162. Of the arrivals of 1856-60, 284,479, about one-half claimed New York State as their final destination.

Famine, plague and political disturbances accounted for the Irish exodus; and hard times and revolutionary risings to a large degree explained the German numbers. A considerable number

of Irish may have been noted as Englishmen, for the large Irish colonies in England were sending forth their surplus population. Again the Irish numbered about a fifth of the Scotch population, and made up a good minority of the Welsh urban and mining centers. The European Continent, too, was learning about New York. In general the same classes in each country opposed emigration, that is employers, landlords, farmers, ministers and government officials; and the reasons for their opposition were the same: loss of laborers, fear of rising wages, loss of communicants and alarm lest their people lose their religious faith, in the United States, and fear of a shortage of fighting men for wars already visible on the horizon. America called with cheap lands in full ownership, work at four to ten times the level in the old countries, freedom and self-government. And American employment and immigration agents were recruiting while passage rates became cheaper in the competition of various lines and between steam and sailing ships. The number of emigrants declined when bad times appeared in America, with improved laboring conditions in the British Isles, and with the Crimean War, in which from a third to a half of the British forces were Irish-born.

From 1847 to 1859, the Marine Hospital cared for 56,877 cases, of which three-fifths had contagious diseases and of which two-fifths were brought direct from shipboard. The emigrant refugee hospitals on Ward's Island cared for 129,644; 333,136 persons were supplied temporarily with board and lodging; and employment was found for 130,000 persons. The commissioners distributed \$853,389 to various counties and religious institutions for the care of indigent immigrants, whose maintenance fell upon the commissioners for five years. In all, the commissioners spent \$5,153,126 on immigrants, buildings, bureaucratic costs including considerable "graft," and persons from the city suffering with contagious deseases—an enormous sum; but the

commutation and hospital moneys paid the whole cost, with a surplus of nearly \$75,000. Apparently the immigrants paid their own way, and the insurance charges cared for their sick and helpless. The superintendent of Castle Garden maintained that the immigrants of 1856 brought an average of \$68 each. Quite rightly, Gregory Dillon, head of the Irish Emigrant Society and a commissioner, maintained that the immigrants were not paupers, nor had they built up a pauper fund.

KNOW-NOTHINGISM

Know-Nothingism, a product of hard times, fear of natives in competition with immigrant hordes, race hostility, dread of Catholicism and political partisanship, cut down immigration to a slight degree. It became powerful in New York, but it soon fell before republicanism and the slavery issue. It accomplished some good: it drove the aliens together; it made the Germans forget creedal distinction; it ended the German-Irish fight; it turned foreigners to the land; it forced leaders to correct abuses among their own people; it brought about more stringent shipping regulations and greater care to prevent the dumping on our shores of idiots, defectives and workhouse paupers; and it enforced more general naturalization. It was not hard to justify a certain antiforeign hostility. It looked as though Europeans would weaken American institutions and drive the native to the wall.

In 1850, New York contained 658,098 persons of foreign birth, over a fifth of the population. Of these 343,111 were from Ireland, 115,820 from the rest of the British Isles (which would include numerous Irishmen), and 120,777 from the German states. With 240,989 aliens, New York County was half foreign. Every third person in Kings County spoke in a German dialect or with an Irish accent; in Erie, the foreign note was stronger; and in Albany County, only slightly less marked.

All along the canals and the railroads, foreigners were numerous in town and in country. The old New York and Yankee elements felt the pressure if they were of the lower class, and profited by cheap labor if they were of the ruling class of employers and landholders. In 1860, New York's foreign-born population passed the million mark. Of these newcomers, Ireland could claim 498,072, and Germany 256,252. Throughout the state, the Irish foreign element made up twelve per cent of the total population, while in the cities it ran up to twenty-three per cent.

In 1860, the foreigner was under no attack. Times were improving. Property values were rising. He was a consumer as well as a producer. And in the Civil War, he made a soldier and often a substitute for a conscripted native of some property. Germans were not ridiculed by recruiting agents, nor were the Irish met, by seekers of labor or by army officers, with the sign "No Irish Need Apply." Nor were the less numerous racial elements, including 12,000 Jews, ignored. And during the war citizens of native and naturalized origin became accustomed to one another. The Civil War was an Americanizing force. It gave the immigrant status, and even a recognized stake in the country.

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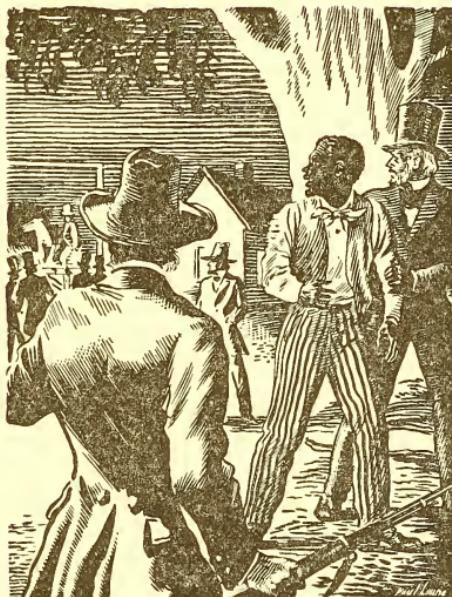
POLITICS AND SLAVERY, 1850-1860

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POLITICS AND SLAVERY, 1850-1860

POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN 1850

POLITICS of the fifties in the Empire State were as much a matter of men as of measures. As the curtain rises upon the ten-year drama, the scholarly Hamilton Fish, a Whig, was in the governor's chair, and George W. Patterson was finishing his term as lieutenant governor. At Washington, Millard Fillmore, just turned fifty, was presiding over the Senate. Born of humble but sturdy stock in a log cabin near Moravia, this courteous and able lawyer had become one of the first citizens of Buffalo and a leader of the Whigs in that section of the state. In the seats before him the Vice President could see two New York State Senators, each in a different way typical of the commonwealth. One was William H. Seward of Auburn, protégé of Thurlow Weed. He cherished high ambitions, in fact the highest, and was prepared to challenge the extension of slavery in the territories, in the hope that a noble policy and his own destiny might march together. The other New York Senator, Daniel S. Dickinson of Binghamton, was a conservative Jacksonian Democrat, ready to defend the rights of his Southern brethren to the point of secession but not beyond. Both Seward and Dickinson were not without prospects of the presidency.

The state which these two not unfittingly represented was one of diverse peoples and creeds. Dutch influences still lingered pleasantly in the valley of the Hudson, where lived the Sage of Kinderhook, or "Martin the first," who was acknowledged by all as one of the most astute leaders in American politics. Sons of the eighteenth-century Palatines dwelt beyond the blue Helderbergs in the Schoharie, Cherry and Mohawk Valleys. They too had had their innings at Albany when their representative, the

amiable and steady William C. Bouck, had been governor of the state in 1843-44. Nor is there any escaping the Puritan element in New York more than in New England. The restless Yankees came into New York in large numbers after the Revolution. Some mingled with the older peoples of the eastern counties, while others pushed into the recently opened lands in the central and western parts of the state, where they founded new towns in the image of Lexington and Concord. Here were the anti-slavery devotees and other "come-outers," including such groups as the socialistic-communistic Utopia at Oneida; the spiritualists in the persons of the Fox sisters, whose ideas and actions bore some resemblance to the practices of the Shakers near Troy; and the beginnings of the Mormon movement. In this same region was the hamlet of Peterboro, where lived Gerrit Smith, landlord and philosopher in the cause of antislavery and other reforms. In some respects he was a follower of Jefferson, but to Southern eyes he more nearly resembled an apostle of confusion. No wonder the suave Seward, with his seemingly radical views on slavery extension, could count on a ready welcome from a constituency that elected similar reformers to the legislature at Albany.

Nor were these groups alone to possess the land. From revolutionary Germany and troubled Ireland came streams of immigrants, the former to add materially to the prosperity of Utica, Syracuse, Buffalo, Tonawanda, Lockport and other towns of the west and north; the latter to join their countrymen in New York City and upstate towns. Among the outstanding Irish lawyers of the metropolis were such forensic giants as James T. Brady and Charles O'Conor, both sons of immigrants.

The plight of the fugitive slave made its appeal to the Puritan and the idealist. The underground railroad had numerous lines in the state. One route lay up the Hudson to Albany, where it forked, one branch going into Vermont above Troy and thence

up the Champlain Valley to Canada, another branching west through Utica and Syracuse with tributaries from Auburn to Oswego. From Syracuse the path led to Lockport and Niagara. Smith's town of Peterboro, with its Negro settlement, was on a line leading directly to a junction at Waverly, near Pennsylvania, where connection could be made with Stroudsburg and Philadelphia. Elmira had another junction, with lines running south to Harrisburg, to Hornell on the west, and to the Finger Lakes and Morgansville, Pembroke, Clarence and Buffalo. The southwestern part of the state had numerous lines and branches. Routes along Lake Ontario connected such towns as Rochester with St. Catherine's and Toronto in Canada. Niagara Falls was also a junction. Besides Oswego, already mentioned, a line ran along the eastern end of the lake through the abolitionist village of Mexico and Port Ontario to Kingston, Canada, and north through Bragdon's Place to Cape Vincent.

While such activities consumed much time and effort of antislavery men, there were other powerful factors at work in New York State politics. The agents of vested wealth were among those present at Albany, where, as will shortly be seen, they numbered adherents in both parties. The lobby, by no means new when the curtain rises on this period, was an arena where railroad and canal interests clinched. At the head of this very practical group was the Warwick of Senator Seward, Thurlow Weed. While Seward sounded high idealism at Washington, Weed stoked the railroad fires at home. These two men were the heart of New York Republicanism in the middle fifties, but in 1850 they were still wearing the livery of the Whigs. The strength of their influence was not due so much to their position on slavery as to their paternal attitude toward the more practical matter of internal improvements. Weed cared more for power than for office or money, and thus came to have many of the traits of the bosses of the nineties.

Even with powerful leaders, all was not well in the Whig ranks in 1850. A hot day at Mount Vernon, plus milk and cherries, weakened the aged President Taylor into illness. In a few days he was dead, and Seward, heretofore the chief dispenser of Federal patronage in New York, was forced to see the lord of the western end of the state move into the White House, and to feel the consequent diminution of his own power.

If the Whigs had their differences, their Democratic opponents were no less distraught. They suffered from too much leadership, rather than too little. Dickinson and his Hunkers had little use for the opposition ably led by Horatio Seymour. Former President Van Buren had bolted Cass in 1848 by becoming the standard bearer of the Free Soilers himself. "Courageous convictions," said some; "Spite," said others; and still another group whispered of the influences of Prince John, his son. At any rate, Van Buren drew some of his friends to the new cause and Prince John, who took the stump for his father, spoiled his own chances for the presidency at Democratic hands. New York went for Taylor and Fillmore, and Cass was beaten. At Albany, the Democratic Regency still continued. On its roll were champions of solid business and railroad interests, such as Peter Cagger; Erastus Corning, promoter of the New York Central; and Dean Richmond, its future president, whose name and influence gave the Regency power in western New York. The railroads were politically very active. The sarcastic James Gordon Bennett declared in 1860 that they saved "legislators half the trouble of passing laws, and politicians two-thirds of the trouble of nominating candidates."

Among the New York City politicians, the able Fernando Wood proved himself a master. Tammany might exile him, but he organized a rival, Mozart Hall, in 1858. In a few months he was back in the fold; and not to be overlooked in this connection was Fernando's brother, Benjamin, a telling orator, newspaper

editor and lottery director. He was a courageous opponent of the Republican administration in the Civil War, and defended freedom of the press for both his friends and foes.

THE WHIGS IN CONTROL AT ALBANY, 1851-52

On September 11, 1850, the leaders of the Democratic party gathered in convention at Syracuse, and for the time there was harmony. Owing to the endeavors of Wood and Seymour, the Barnburners were welcomed to the fold and John Van Buren was allowed to preside, but antislavery Barnburners soon disappeared, some staying without the pale to join Free-Soil groups later. The convention swallowed the compromise on slavery. Indeed Daniel S. Dickinson claimed that he, not Cass, was the true parent of popular sovereignty. Seymour and Sanford E. Church were nominated for governor and lieutenant governor.

Among the Whigs a gulf was widening. Weed and Fillmore had come to a parting of the ways. "Freedom's banner trails in the dust at Washington," said the master of the lobby in his paper, the *Albany Journal*. But Fillmore signed the compromise bill and the conservative Whigs applauded. When the Whigs met at Utica on September 26, the radicals sensed unjust treatment on committee appointments. They heard no praise of the Senator from Auburn. Washington Hunt, a popular moderate, and George J. Cornwell were put at the head of the state ticket. Then the trouble began. New radical resolutions were passed on September 27, and Seward was thanked for his loyalty to Whig principles. Thereupon the opposition demanded a vote. Sewardism was upheld, and a group of conservative dissenters left the hall, followed by Francis Granger, chairman of the convention. People noticed his silvered locks and the term "Silver Gray Whig" went into America's political vocabulary. Later, on October 17, this rump group reconvened at Utica where, swayed by the oratory of James O. Putnam of Buffalo, they in-

dorsed Hunt but scorned Seward. Those Abolitionists who disagreed with both Hunkers and Barnburners, as well as Whigs, nominated William L. Chapin and Joseph Plumb.

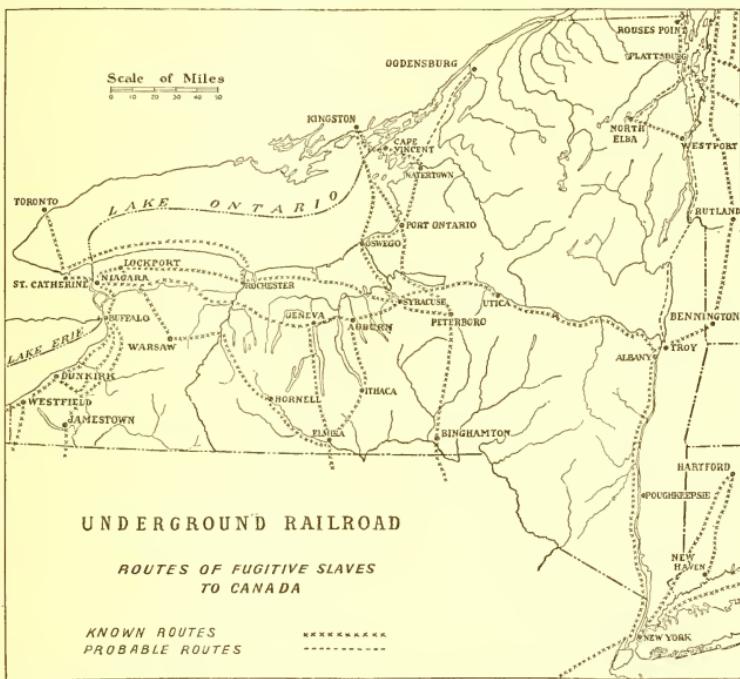
Typical conservative and moderate opinion expressed itself in a large mass meeting at Castle Garden in New York on October 30. "I will have no compromise with abolition principles, or abolition leaders," said James W. Gerard. "We must root them up as poisonous weeds, we must pin on them the ban of public opinion." "I have always apprehended," said Edward Sanford, "that a practical destruction of this Union, or confederation of sovereign or independent States, was a matter much more likely to be readily achieved than to be of difficult attainment." Suppose the South should refuse to participate in Federal government!

What is to be done? [Sanford asked]. Do you say send an army and navy, blockade their ports, burn their cities, and slaughter their inhabitants? Are you to wage war upon your brethren because they will no longer submit to your wanton invasions of their chartered rights? No, I trust never.

Sever the tie of the Union, and "each [state] stands alone in its sovereignty." The remedy was to repudiate the higher law and hold to the "Union as it is." "I come here not as Whig or Democrat," declared Ogden Hoffman, one of the greatest of jury lawyers, "I come here because I love my country more than party." But he was no friend of slavery, and praised the recent work of Clay and Webster. James T. Brady, one of the ablest lawyers of the New York bar, was equally outspoken: "If any member of the confederacy be sustained in the slightest violation of our national compact," he declared, "then I have no hesitation in declaring that the sovereign State whose rights are permitted to be disregarded has a perfect right to secede." Although in later years Brady sustained the administration of Lin-

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coln and declined to follow the South into secession, he fought for the rights of the South within the Union in 1860. The resolutions of the meeting praised the conduct of Clay, Cass, Webster, Fillmore, Dickinson, Foote, Houston and others who had thrown themselves into the breach for the good of the country, without regard to party. A coalition ticket of Fillmore Whigs and Democrats was agreed upon. Weed and Greeley assailed this step with abuse, while Seward quietly worked at law in Auburn.

Governor Fish had made a very satisfactory record in the executive chair. He had aided important school legislation, which is said to have established free schools throughout the state. Some equitable changes in taxation were to his credit, and the criminal code had been reformed. As has been indicated, both he and the New York State legislature were opposed to the extension of slavery into territories "from which it is now excluded," and agreed that the institution was "a moral, a social, and a political evil." Other honors awaited him. After a two months' contest, he was elected Senator upon the expiration of the term of Senator Dickinson, and was fittingly introduced to the Senate by Senator Seward. He showed no inclination to challenge the leadership of Seward in the Senate, and upon the expiration of his term traveled in Europe. Upon his return home in 1860, he took an active part in the election of Lincoln and in later party struggles.

It took several weeks to learn that in the race for the governorship Hunt had triumphed over Seymour by 262 votes. Governor Hunt, who succeeded Fish in 1851, was also of a type personally popular, but by nature he was more conservative than Fish. Hunt's canal policy, which involved a plan to issue \$9,000,000 worth of certificates to enlarge the Erie Canal and to complete the Genesee Valley and Black River Canals, was vigorously opposed by Samuel J. Tilden and others. Thurlow Weed had been a prime mover in this scheme. Of twelve Demo-

cratic senators who resigned to block its passage, six were defeated in a campaign to fill the vacancies. Governor Hunt called an extra session of the legislature and the Whigs passed the bill, the Democrats being divided. Thus an issue for 1851 was provided, although the court of appeals in the following year held the act unconstitutional. It was not until 1854 that the idea was made a reality by means of a constitutional amendment.

The Fugitive Slave Law, which was the only benefit the South had received from the Compromise of 1850, was nullified by antislavery folk. At Buffalo, Poughkeepsie and other places there was opposition to its enforcement. One of the more spectacular incidents was the "Jerry Rescue" at Syracuse. Jerry McHenry, a well-known and well-liked Negro, was seized and carried before the Federal commissioner. A mob, including a distinguished minister, Rev. Samuel J. May, and Gerrit Smith of Peterboro, took the prisoner from the officers. All men of Free-Soil proclivities had their houses watched, but the leaders had persuaded a Democrat to shelter Jerry "for the sake of humanity." Soon Jerry was on his way to Canada, while his pursuers are said to have had difficulty in awakening the sleepy toll-gate keepers along the route. Thus the underground railroad served its purpose. Eighteen men were indicted, and, escorted by a hundred friends, went to Auburn to call on Seward, who headed the list of sureties demanded for their good behavior. For a number of years afterward, the anniversary of the day was kept, Gerrit Smith presiding at the meetings. During the previous spring, Webster had prophesied that fugitive slaves would yet be taken away from Syracuse and even from antislavery conventions in that city. Now Gerrit Smith, before the Liberty convention, denounced Webster as "that base and infamous enemy of the human race," and congratulated the fair city that "still remains undisgraced by the fulfilment of the satanic prediction of the satanic Webster."

But there were conservatives in the state who were glad to find issues other than slavery. The Whigs of that year talked of enlarging the Erie Canal. The Democrats, who divided their ticket between Hunkers and Barnburners, condemned the Whig canal policy. The South and the national administration knew that Seward was "unsound" on the slavery question, and proscribed some of his supporters in New York City; former Governor Hamilton Fish consequently flayed Webster and Fillmore for this discrimination. Thus with ranks divided, the New York Whigs approached the presidential Convention of 1852. Seward, Weed and company managed to outmaneuver both Fillmore and the venerable Webster, who was thus denied his last chance for the honor in the Whig Convention, which assembled at Baltimore on June 16, 1852. Winfield Scott, a native of Virginia but for all practical purposes a New York City man, was chosen. Seward, who was, like Webster, to be passed over later, was forced to take a platform which accepted the Compromise of 1850, and he was further annoyed to find that Scott considered himself in honor bound to carry out the platform. "He is incapable of understanding," he wrote Weed, "that it is not obligatory on him to execute it." Fillmore accepted his failure to receive the nomination with dignity, and was content to realize that he had preserved the Union by effecting the Compromise of 1850.

The Democrats had assembled in National Convention at Baltimore on June 1, with good prospects of success and an abundance of candidates. Cass, Buchanan and Douglas were ready for the race. New York had two strong possibilities, Marcy and Dickinson. Marcy was a representative of the Yankee type in New York politics. By birth a New Englander, he had settled in Troy and later had become one of the leaders in the Albany Regency. He had held many offices, including that of United States Senator, Secretary of War and governor. At this time he

was put forward by those who had bolted the nomination of Cass in 1848. Weed, who sensed Whig defeat, wished Marcy's nomination, and before his departure for Europe in November, 1851, tried to establish friendly relations between Marcy and Dickinson. Seymour, too, was very active both in New York and in Washington in Marcy's behalf. But the friends of Dickinson would have Cass and did what they could to deflate the Marcy boom. A serious handicap to Marcy was a feud with James Gordon Bennett, the powerful editor of the *New York Herald*. Letters showing that Marcy could be depended upon in regard to the Compromise over slavery were published in the *Baltimore Sun* and widely circulated. Buchanan wanted Marcy in case he himself should fail. But the Marcy men did not come to the aid of the "Buchaneers." So when the former needed their Pennsylvanian friends later, they were met with denial. Dickinson, who had been accused by the Marcy men of planning to use Cass support for himself, was nominated by Virginia on the thirty-fourth ballot. The "Old Roman" was pleased, but stoutly declared that he could not accept without incurring the imputation of being unfaithful to his constituents, and "without turning my back on an old and valued friend." He then urged Virginia to support Cass, but on the next count the Old Dominion cast its vote for Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, who was unanimously nominated on the forty-ninth ballot. Thus Dickinson had beaten "traitor" Marcy, who had listened to the calls of the Barnburners.

HORATIO SEYMOUR'S ADMINISTRATION, 1853-54

At the state convention which followed, the Democrats nominated for governor Marcy's friend, Horatio Seymour. In opposition, John Van Buren had joined with Dickinson in support of John P. Beekman of New York City. Rural New York had its squirearchy in those days, as did the South. Of these Seymour

and Dickinson were both good examples. Both had fine estates, good books, and Dickinson, like Webster, took a turn at poetry. The *Commercial Advertiser* sketched Seymour in 1853 as follows:

In person, Governor Seymour is tall and well proportioned, with a countenance indicative of benevolence, sagacity, and much intellectual power. That he is an accomplished politician need scarcely be said. Amid the various conflicts of parties that have existed in this state for some years, no ordinary man could control a majority, and reach the executive chair. His manners are courteous and affable (to none more so than to those of different political faith . . .), and he manifests a sense of true politeness which consists in promoting the happiness of those around us.

Such was the man called to be the chief executive of New York and a leader in the party. Sanford E. Church was renominated for second place. The Baltimore platform was indorsed.

The Whigs renominated Governor Hunt, Horace Greeley of the *Tribune* and George W. Paterson being competitors. The scholarly William Kent, son of the great chancellor, was named for lieutenant governor. The Whigs accepted their national platform with a somewhat equivocal indorsement.

In October, Scott made a campaign trip on which he spoke in Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Lockport, Rochester, Auburn, Syracuse, Rome, Utica and Albany. He assured his hearers that although a soldier by profession, he was a man of peace. He paid tributes to the Germans and the Irish. But hostile editors made fun of his oratorical efforts. Bennett published the speeches and ironically called them a modern Iliad. John P. Hale, the Free-Soil candidate for President, pursued Scott with mordant humor, while the Democrats had whole batteries of able orators such as John Van Buren, Dix, Brady and O'Conor. The result was one of the heaviest Democratic landslides known up to that time. Pierce carried twenty-seven states, and Scott only four,

while Seymour was 22,000 ahead of Hunt in the race for governor. The Democrats controlled the state Assembly and had a majority in Congress.

"It is a condemnation of Sewardism and all that class of ultra doctrines which for several years past have been preached by the Albany *Evening Journal*, the New York *Tribune* and their evil associates," joyfully proclaimed the *Herald*. The wealthy and mercantile Whigs generally had kept away from the polls and had taken little interest in the election. In later years, Alexander H. Stephens in his well-known work, *War Between the States*, also held that Sewardism had smashed the Whig party. The Whigs were fatally divided.

On the Democratic side, Pierce's freedom from party cliques, his "perfect soundness" on the slavery question, his pleasing deportment during the campaign, "the clean sweep of fifty millions a year," and the "progressive spirit" of the Democratic party were among the factors listed by Bennett as causes of Democratic victory. The election placed two new and somewhat singular persons in the House of Representatives. One was Gerrit Smith, already described; the other was a healthy-looking young man, personally a "dry" and an abstainer from tobacco. "His habits," said the *Herald*, "are good." His name was Tweed.

The set-up of the Seymour régime evidently afforded the Albany correspondent of the *Herald* little pleasure, as he wrote:

Its complexion is exclusively soft shell and barnburner — half dingy white and half pure black. Messrs. Seymour, Wright, Chatfield and ex-Governor Marcy will represent in its councils the soft shell faction, while Church, Randall, Benton and Welch will maintain the barn-burning interest. Mr. Cassidy of the Albany *Atlas* will preside at the organ. . . . your Tammany hunkers with the friends of the Albany *Argus*, and of Daniel S. Dickinson in the rural districts, must soften their shells considerably, or look out for the application of the screws. . . .

Seymour's administration was highly satisfactory to his friends and his party. An admirer declared, "By thorough statesmanship he advanced the true interests of the state, and by untiring industry maintained the private rights of the people." His opposition to prohibition, or what was then called the Maine liquor-law idea, cost him reelection. Nevertheless, he remained probably the ablest leader of the largest Democratic group in the state. His record as governor was one of his advantages in securing the presidential nomination in 1868.

There was but a short period of peace for Pierce, largely because of the situation in New York City. Dickinson refused the post of collector of the port of New York. Greene C. Bronson was then chosen, but was removed in less than a year, trouble arising over patronage. Charles O'Conor, Federal district attorney, resigned because he was in sympathy with Bronson. Pierce desired John A. Dix for a cabinet position, but either the prejudices of the South or the intrigues of Marcy prevented the appointment; nor did Dix receive the mission to France, which went to John Y. Mason of Virginia. Marcy drew the largest plum, the premier office of Secretary of State in the Pierce cabinet.

There was a double Democratic convention at Syracuse in September, 1853. The Hunkers charged duress and seceded. They nominated George W. Clinton for secretary of state, James T. Brady, attorney-general, and sought to embarrass both Governor Seymour and the Pierce régime. The Barnburners adjourned until the next day and meanwhile the leaders consulted with Governor Seymour. On the morrow, this wing of the Democratic party indorsed the governor's policies, and approved two judges of the court of appeals nominated by the Hunkers. Other candidates were taken from the supporters of Cass in 1848. The Barnburners gained the advantage of regularity and held the advantage in patronage. It was at the time

of the Hunker secession that the terms Hardshells or "Hards" and Softshells or "Softs" came into general use. The implication was that the former were unwavering in their principles, while the latter were compromisers and opportunists.

The Whigs met in convention on October 5, under Washington Hunt as chairman. Among the seekers of honors was the brilliant but indolent Ogden Hoffman, whose conservative attitude on the Compromise of 1850 has been indicated. Conkling was his youthful rival in the nomination for attorney-general. James M. Cook, a Saratoga banker, was nominated for comptroller, and Elbridge G. Spaulding of Buffalo for state treasurer. The convention called for the completion of canals under Whig rule. In the ensuing election, among the Democrats the Hards lost, but by a narrow margin, and now hated Pierce cordially. The Whigs won, although Ruggles and Denio, who were on both Democratic tickets, were elected.

In the Congressional session of 1853-54, Douglas introduced his Nebraska bill. Bryant of the New York *Evening Post*, who had spoken well of Pierce in 1852, would have none of it and, when the bill was altered to make two states, he liked it still less. It is now known that Douglas had looked to a convention of the states as a means of settling sectional troubles in 1850-52, and that in November of 1852 (*Tyler's Quarterly*, October, 1932), Douglas had determined to remove the Missouri line altogether. He declared that the Missouri line had been a mistaken compromise of the Constitution. He was brought to this point of view by his failure to get an extension of the old line, through the hostility of the abolitionists and their allies.

The resistance to this Kansas-Nebraska doctrine was immediate and vigorous. The hostile *Evening Post* declared on February 17, 1854, that the Sunday press, Whig, Soft, Hard and sporting papers, were all against the bill. The *Atlas* was perhaps changing, but the Sunday *Courier*, *Mercury*, *Times* and the *Dispatch*

were all in opposition, the *Mercury* and *Times* being classed as Hard. Among other foes were the *Albany State Register* and the *Abend Zeitung*. Mass meetings in which letters of Seward and Sumner were read had been held against the measure. Although the *Democratic Review* was telling its readers in the following year that it was a victory for freedom, the *Post* and its allies in 1854 feared a victory for the "slave power." Seward joined the Sumner-Chase group in flaying the bill. Henry Ward Beecher later urged people to buy Sharps rifles, "Beecher's Bibles," for Kansan Free-Soil immigrants. The Emigrant Aid Society, which was organized almost as soon as the Kansas-Nebraska bill was signed, had its devotees in New York as well as in New England. A convention at Saratoga on August 16, 1854, attended by Greeley, John A. King, Henry J. Raymond of the *Times*, and Moses Grinnell, opposed the bill. They agreed to reassemble at Auburn on September 26. Marcy and John Van Buren were also against the new law.

TEMPERANCE AND SLAVERY

But all was not lost for the new Democratic orthodoxy. The Hards who came to the convention at Syracuse in July accepted the Kansas-Nebraska measure, and claimed the credit of the idea for Dickinson as early as 1847. They favored a larger canal and prohibition. It was their purpose to purge the party of the Pierce-Seymour Softs. The scholarly Bronson, their candidate for governor, was chosen "as the representative of Pierce's prescriptive policy for opinions sake." "The Hards are for slavery in Nebraska," said the *Post*. When the Softs met in the same city on September 6, 1854, and renominated Seymour, there was trouble over the Douglas bill. Preston King, a Republican United States Senator later, left the convention, which tabled a resolution declaring the repeal of the Missouri line unnecessary but to be accepted as a finality. Then a flat disapproval of

the repeal of the line of 1820 was offered, but a roll call laid it also on the table. Party discipline had done its work.

The anti-Democratic factions accepted Myron H. Clark, an ardent dry, for governor. He was indorsed by the Whigs at Syracuse, the anti-Nebraska men who met at Auburn on September 26, the state temperance convention, and the Free Democrats. Dickinson declared these organizations to be the Whig party in some half dozen characters in appropriate disguise. "Justice, Temperance, and Freedom" were the watchwords of the new coalition. Seymour had vetoed a dry bill which Clark had sponsored, and now had to fight the battle over again. In the ranks of the Native Americans with their candidate, Daniel Ullman, a New York City lawyer, there was hope of victory and hatred of Seward, but liquor regulation and the Nebraska bill were the leading issues. Clark won, and put an antiliqour bill through the legislature, only to have it fall before the frown of the court of appeals. Clark in later years held that his nomination as governor was the real beginning of the Republican party, although its official birthplace has been designated as Ripon, Wisconsin. The election had been close. Clark was only 309 votes ahead of Seymour, but Raymond of the *Times*, who ran for lieutenant governor, received more. The days of the Silver Grays began to wane. Seward was more and more the prophet of the new era. After a hot fight at Albany, in which he was opposed by some old Whigs and Know-Nothings, Seward was reëlected to the United States Senate. He knew who had done most of the work, and showed proper appreciation to Weed. It was in 1854 that, according to Greeley, the firm of Weed, Seward and Greeley was dissolved, the editor of the *Tribune* having been neglected by the senior partners.

In 1855, the Softs indorsed Pierce, but condemned the Kansas "outrages." The Hards, on the other hand, found no trouble in again supporting the Douglas doctrine. Samuel J. Tilden was

nominated for attorney-general, but was defeated. Both Hards and Softs indorsed Samuel L. Selden for the court of appeals. This combination placed Selden among the victors.

The Whigs and Republicans, by agreement, both met in Syracuse in September, 1855. Weed formed a coalition. Under the leadership of its two chairmen, Reuben E. Fenton and John A. King, the convention nominated a "Republican Ticket." At the head of the list was the name of Preston King for secretary of state. The liquor question was dropped and antislavery stressed, quite in keeping with the agitation of the question by the *Times* and the *Tribune*. The coalition condemned the Know-Nothings. The American candidate for secretary of state was Joel T. Headly, a popular journalist and historian of his day, whose lives of Napoleon, Cromwell and Washington ran to immense editions. Another eminently learned and scholarly candidate was George F. Comstock of Syracuse, who was successful in securing a place in the court of appeals. Seward took an active part in the campaign, but the victory went to the Know-Nothings. More radical groups, the Free Democracy and the Liberty Party, nominated the young colored orator, Frederick Douglass, for secretary of state, and Lewis Tappan, a fiery antislavery orator from New York, for comptroller.

The early months of 1856 saw decisive forces in New York beginning to align for Buchanan for President. Sickles reported to Buchanan, then minister to England, that the powerful Dean Richmond was for him, and that Nicholas Hill, a scholarly writer of Amsterdam, was almost for him. Seymour was at least cool toward Marcy and perhaps at odds with him, but Buchanan's friends were not very appreciative of Seymour. The tall and commanding Samuel Beardsley, former chief justice, and the able and wealthy Augustus Schell, were talking Dickinson, but were by no means averse to Buchanan. Indeed it was natural that a man of Buchanan's political sympathies

should appeal to the Hards. In February, S. L. M. Barlow of New York was quietly gaining support among the merchants and bankers in the metropolis for Pennsylvania's favorite son. Mayor Wood was working actively in Buchanan's behalf. The report was that Seward would run if anyone but Buchanan was selected by the Democrats.

Buchanan, who had reluctantly accepted the advice of his friend John Slidell and others to offer himself for the presidential honor, reached New York in April, and a reception prepared by Wood and others turned out well. Meanwhile Buchanan had been nominated by the Pennsylvania state convention at Harrisburg.

The Softs, of course, were for Pierce, at least on the surface. Decency required that since they had enjoyed the patronage they should commend his work and that of Marcy. In their convention for delegates at large to the Cincinnati Convention, as their only hope of recognition, they had accepted the difficult Nebraska bill and denounced the "treasonable" Kansas policy of the Republicans. They also armed themselves with a pamphlet entitled, *The Softs, the True Democracy of the State of New York*.

The group of powerful Buchanan men at Cincinnati stayed at the quarters of Barlow of New York City. It included Slidell, the chief among his peers, Senators Bayard of Delaware and Bright of Indiana, and General Butler of the New York *Journal of Commerce*. The Hards found no trouble in supporting Buchanan, but the Softs, under the lead of Marcy, had to vote for Pierce, with perhaps some hopes for Douglas. Buchanan had the honest opinion of Nathan Clifford of Maine that the wily old Trojan had hoped to repeat the part of Pierce and become the candidate himself. Under the leadership of Slidell and with the loyal backing of the Wise supporters sent up from Virginia to aid Buchanan, the crisis was met and passed for the

favorite son of Pennsylvania. Wood was among the first to telegraph congratulations.

The handling of the two New York delegations at the convention was left to Hendrick Wright of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. Seymour tried hard to destroy any chances Dickinson might have with the administration, and desired Buchanan to give a pledge that, in the event of victory, no cabinet post or first-rate foreign appointment would be tendered any New Yorker. For that price, the Softs would fuse and work. Buchanan sagely suggested that matters could wait until after election, when they would receive his careful attention. Meanwhile all should labor in the good cause. John Van Buren swung pleasantly into line and some of the leaders of both factions hoped and worked for harmony. Douglas had won a place for his ambiguous Kansas formula in the platform, and Slidell gave Douglas' friend, Breckinridge, the second place on the ticket. The plan was to leave Kansas to the Supreme Court for settlement, the Dred Scott case being already on the docket.

In the Republican Convention at Philadelphia, Weed feared Seward's chances of success and urged him to withhold his name from candidacy, while Greeley worked behind the scenes against Seward, thinking he could not carry Pennsylvania. Yet Seward had the support of the New York delegation and won much applause when his name was mentioned. The nomination went to John C. Frémont, the "Pathfinder of the West." Frémont had favored toleration of slavery in the California constitution six years before but he now had a change of mind and perhaps of heart. The chief issue of the campaign was the extension of slavery in the territories. Moreover, Republicans showed their plain disapproval of the institution in general, although admitting its constitutionality in the states.

Buchanan was greatly disappointed in not obtaining the support of Bennett. The editor of the *Herald* claimed that

Buchanan had withheld from him his intentions of being a candidate when they met in London, an error, since Buchanan had not then decided the matter. But Bennett was probably selling more papers in the apprehensive South by favoring Frémont, and perhaps was paying off a score with John W. Forney, Buchanan's chairman of the state central committee in Pennsylvania.

THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF 1856

The Hards and Softs issued calls for state conventions. There was a futile hope that the conventions would merge. Seymour led the Softs. Among the Hards were Addison Gardiner, David L. Seymour, Mayor Wood and Amasa J. Parker, each of whom hoped to become candidate for governor. The last was nominated and indorsed by both factions. Bennett admitted that Parker was the best of the candidates in the field.

The Republicans, who met in Syracuse, found Gov. Myron H. Clark now too dry, and turned to Moses H. Grinnell, a popular New York merchant of high character, but Grinnell, who later leaned to the conservative Buchanan in hopes to save the country, declined. A battle then developed between James S. Wadsworth, of the Genesee nobility, and John A. King, son of Rufus King, who had helped stir up the Missouri trouble in 1820. With his amiable personality and Weed's support, King won. The nomination of Henry R. Seldon, of Monroe County, for lieutenant governor, aided in quieting some of the less pleasant feelings which the conflict had engendered.

The Americans, as the Know-Nothings called themselves, nominated Erastus Brooks, brother of James Brooks, the founder of the New York *Express*. Fillmore was nominated by the Americans for the presidency, giving the Democrats more cause for worry in the Southern border states and in New Jersey than he did in New York. Bennett said Brooks had no chance from

the beginning. The presence of a Know-Nothing party stiffened the Irish vote, if it needed such assistance, for the Democrats in New York and Pennsylvania. The Irish felt no love for Yankees, nor for New Yorkers who wept tears for the antislavery "woolly heads" and had none for Irish tenants in the old country nor for the laborers in New England mills. It was the Democratic party which gave the Irish immigrants the best welcome, aided them with the needed naturalization, and numbered among its distinguished leaders such men as Cassidy, Brady and O'Conor. Among their non-Irish leaders was a son of President Tyler, Robert Tyler of Philadelphia, who was also at one time the head of a secret organization known as the Irish Immigrant Aid Society. The Irish newspapers, such as the *Citizen*, were a distinct aid to the Democrats, who did not have the *Herald*, the *Evening Post* nor the *Tribune* to abet their efforts in New York City. The campaign of 1856 was one of the most bitterly fought political battles in the country's history. By common instinct, the chief battle ground was Pennsylvania, although much of the money spent there was raised in New York and New England.

When Bennett refused to stop his "mad career," the Democrats turned to strengthening the powers of the *Daily News*. There was some suggestion of buying the *Times*, but that Republican paper had no reputation in the South. Buchanan was advised to have no part in local Democratic fights, but Slidell and Douglas were willing to go to New York to work among the commercial men. Raymond as well as Greeley spoke and wrote for the Republicans. Their argument and that of Bryant in the *Evening Post* set forth the woes of Kansas. The Republican House had published a large volume, prepared by a committee sent to Kansas to see how badly the Missourians were behaving. The Democratic member of the committee trailed them as best he could and had his report printed among the

Democratic documents. Frémont was a hero and a statesman, while Buchanan, to Greeley and Company, was but the henchman of the slave drivers.

Although Pennsylvania was the storm center, the Democrats labored diligently in New York. At times they hoped for victory in this state. The central committee sent out forty speakers, including Seymour, Dickinson, Church, Shepard of New York City, and Judge Parker, the candidate for governor. R. M. T. Hunter, Senator from Virginia, addressed a large rally at Poughkeepsie in October. He stressed the economic advantages of slavery and the evils which would follow any disturbance or disintegration which a Republican President would bring on the South. A few days later former Governor Floyd of Virginia spoke in Wall Street. In those days he was not a scapegoat for Republicans as in 1860, but a successful politician and business man, and in an able address he declared that, in case Buchanan could not succeed, he would prefer Fillmore to Frémont. Nathaniel Banks had spoken for the Republicans the week before. Dean Richmond was deeply busy with the managerial necessities of the campaign. Martin Van Buren, in indorsing Buchanan, tried by political magic to make the Cincinnati platform look like his Free-Soil effort of 1848. This attitude caused a flutter at Lancaster lest it do harm in the South, but friends assured Buchanan it had caused no trouble. Prince John carried out his father's ideas in certain speeches. In the South and in parts of Pennsylvania, the Kansas plank meant, not squatter sovereignty, but the right of the slaveholder to take his property into a territory prior to statehood. Not until the framing of a state constitution could slavery be prohibited, according to this doctrine.

Democratic informers kept their leaders apprised as to the funds of their opponents. Richmond reported on the last of August that the Republicans of New England and Maryland

had raised \$180,000 to be used in the Keystone State alone. The Americans hoped to carry some of the South if the Democrats failed to carry the state elections in Pennsylvania. The Republicans hoped, in that event, to get the free states and to carry the election to the House where, aided by the American party, victory loomed. New York Democrats sent money into Maine without desired results. In three days the Republicans were said to have raised \$40,000 in New York City, and had more, "upwards of \$100,000," coming to aid their cause in Pennsylvania. The Democrats replied to Republicans on the charge of seeking to steal Cuba that the famous Ostend Manifesto was but a repetition of the sacred Monroe Doctrine. Buchanan explained that from the beginning he sought Cuba only on honorable terms. August Belmont, New York financier and American representative of the Rothschilds, was very favorable to the acquisition of the island. He was a relative of Buchanan's "chief of staff," John Slidell, once of New York City but now for many years a resident of Louisiana.

By the last of September, Whig merchants who feared Fillmore was beaten came in increasing numbers to the ranks of Buchanan. Minturn and Grinnell were now included in the distinguished list. The Fillmore men were determined to defeat Frémont, some declaring him to be a Catholic. This was not a fact, although he had been married by a priest. Among the Irish Democrats, this kind of talk was not of much use. Brooks was reported willing to bargain with the Democrats by trading the presidency for the governorship.

In October the battle waxed more fierce. The Democrats at the New York Hotel, where the party funds were raised, now calculated that Pennsylvania was won. They hoped that a favorable return there would serve to carry New York also. The Republicans, according to Gideon Welles, sent out calls to Connecticut for funds. While all the fighting was going on,

Seward did little; but in October, he came into action in Detroit. Buchanan, he said, was faithful to the slaveholders, while Fillmore vacillated between them and their opponents. As for Frémont, Seward declared him to be possessed with extraordinary genius, unquestionable sincerity of purpose, unusual modesty, and he hailed him as a true representative of the cause of freedom. Seward's speech on the admission of Kansas, delivered in the Senate April 9, 1856, and his speech on the army bill of August 7, were used with speeches of Sumner and lesser lights as campaign documents. Young George William Curtis had been most active in Frémont's cause.

Although defeated in the first brush of state elections, the Republicans kept up the fight. In the final election they lost again. In Pennsylvania, the *Herald* said, they failed because "Wendell, Forney and Belmont raised \$50,000 more money to be expended in Pennsylvania than William A. Hall, Truman Smith and the writer of this article could procure for the same object." The Democrats, with true courtesy to Buchanan and perhaps with apprehension as to Republican House investigation committees, carefully burned the lists of the contributors after election.

The "Buchaneers" believed that Providence had been on their side in order to save the Union. A most interesting letter from Dickinson to Buchanan, a few days after election, tells of Democratic victory in the Union and defeat in New York, in his own inimitable way:

I believe your Election is conceded by all. Allow me therefore to congratulate you most cordially upon the result. It is a triumph of the constitution and the Union over the most desperate and alarming combination that has ever threatened the peace and integrity of the country. I early saw the strength of the terrible elements which were to be arrayed against us, and trembled for the result until after the October Election in your cherished state; and even now, I regard our

success under the circumstances as contrary to all general political laws. . . .

I had no rational hope of this state after the "free soil" swing of the softs joined the "Republicans," but it was necessary to contest it for many and abundant reasons. Beyond the cities, wherever the *New England* people have sway, they came down like an avalanche,—men, women and children,—priest, & people, & churches, aggregate, and a train of frightened Buffaloes would be no more deaf to reason or argument.

We have never seen a contest which began to compare with this in importance and God grant we may never see another like it.

But, while congratulating you upon the result, I would much more congratulate our country upon her escape from destruction.

STATE ISSUES SUBMERGED IN NATIONAL POLITICS

Since New York had not favored the Democrats, there was no need to consider Seymour's proposition to Buchanan on appointments. There were to be no cabinet plums for the Empire State Democrats. Buchanan was not to be entangled as Pierce had been. Dickinson, Marcy, Dix and others were suggested, and Richmond visited "Wheatland" to discuss matters in general. It has been said that Seymour was offered the post of minister to England, but declined. Bennett said that the New York Hotel crowd wanted Robert J. Walker for Secretary of State and John W. Forney of Pennsylvania for Postmaster General. If so, they were doomed to disappointment, for Walker was sent out to Kansas instead.

In the months between the election and President Buchanan's inauguration, his chief interest in New York State was in conciliating Bennett and his *Herald* with its powerful Southern circulation. Many letters passed between them with fairly satisfactory results, for Bennett supported most of the measures of the Buchanan régime. The President seemed to consider New York of less importance to him than Pennsylvania. This condi-

tion was no doubt due to the factional fights within the New York Democratic party. Rynders was appointed United States marshal. No first-class ministry went to New York, but Henry C. Murphy was sent as minister to the Netherlands, Benjamin F. Angle to Scandinavia, and John L. O'Sullivan, journalist, was retained in Portugal. Augustus Schell was collector of the port of New York and a welcome caller at the White House. Buchanan depended in large measure on personal friends in New York State, a group which included men from all factions. Among them were Daniel Sickles, who had been his secretary for part of his stay in London, Samuel J. Tilden, John A. Dix, Daniel S. Dickinson, John Cochrane, Judge James J. Roosevelt and Fernando Wood. In the Dred Scott decision which, after long delays, came a few days after Buchanan took office, a New Yorker, Judge Nelson, formerly of Cooperstown, had an important part. The *Herald* had forecast the opinion some time before, basing its prediction on information which probably came from one of the dissenting judges. The decision was a gain for the Republicans, in New York as well as elsewhere, since they cleverly made the court look like a proslavery club, while they extolled the dissenters.

Kansas troubles flared up again after election. Robert J. Walker was made governor of Kansas and before he left hinted to Seward that Kansas would come in free. Seward thought Walker's eye was already on the White House, and Bryant's *Post* foresaw him at the Court of St. James in training for the presidency, provided he pacified Kansas. Senator Beveridge, in his *Life of Lincoln* has shown how cleverly the Republicans ran things in Kansas. Certainly their fellow partisans in New York took full advantage of the record. Sickles had difficulty in getting an administration ratification meeting in New York. Dickinson hit the nail on the head when he wrote Buchanan in 1857, "The opposition, just now so fretfully conspicuous, was

determined on before you were inaugurated and the development is made through the Kansas question, because it promised better returns than anything else." Walker had taken with him into Kansas one of the writers of the *Times*, Raymond's paper, which was considered the organ of Seward. It seems that Walker intended to come out ahead, no matter which side he had to support.

While Kansas raged, New York had local matters of moment. Weed had put Preston King, a former Democrat, into the United States Senatorship, to placate that wing of the Republican party. In spite of the press shouts over the Dred Scott case, a coalition of Know-Nothings and Democrats in 1857 elected Gideon J. Tucker secretary of state; Sanford Church, comptroller; Lyman Tremain, attorney-general; and Hiram Denio judge of the court of appeals. Yet for over two years, people gave money for "Beecher's Bibles" for Kansas, the Immigrant Aid Society sent its "soldiers," and the *Tribune* and the *Times* listed every shriek from the Kansas plains.

The panic of 1857 of course gave the Democrats some trouble. Bennett, in the fall of 1856, had prophesied "a deluge" after the days of Buchanan. Dix found New York in a welter of unemployment in November, 1857. Bryant urged people to send money for Kansan abolitionists, but scorned Mayor Wood's plea for the city to buy flour and supplies for the poor. The city council voted some funds for public works. Banks had to suspend specie payment, and thousands of business houses failed. Tender-hearted Walt Whitman wrote that the land had been shaken as by an earthquake and that 15,000 were out of work in New York City alone. Railroad investments suffered heavily. Greeley, in reviewing the causes of the panic, took advantage of the opportunity to urge a higher tariff as a remedy. Gerrit Smith, whose father had been saved from the effects of the panic of 1837 by his friend, John Jacob Astor, flayed banks and

their practices, for which he had little use. At the close of the year, Tiemann won the mayoralty from Wood, both of whom had supported Buchanan, and this event caused a fight in Tammany Hall.

By the spring of 1858, the Democrats passed the English bill reoffering the Lecompton constitution to Kansas, this time in its entirety. Bryant, Greeley and the Republicans generally cried bribery and fraud but, despite all they could do, the bill passed. It was no bribe, but an attempt to reconcile the Democrats in the North, who wanted the constitution to be submitted to the Kansas voters, an act which by Southern theory was unnecessary. Douglas wavered but feared the loss of the support of David C. Broderick, a former resident of New York, but now Senator from California, and so refused the measure. Thereupon Raymond and Greeley wanted to adopt Douglas into the Republican party. This plan was dropped, because of the opposition of Lincoln's friends in Illinois. The Kansans rejected the Lecompton constitution, but in 1859 they adopted another which Seward sponsored at Washington. At a political meeting in Tarrytown in 1858, John W. Forney, who had become estranged from Buchanan, indorsed the anti-Lecompton stand of John B. Haskin, candidate for reelection to Congress. Forney bitterly attacked the President in a speech which was the subject of much comment by friend and foe.

In the summer of 1858, Weed, after a hard fight against Jenkins and others in the Republican convention, won with his second choice for governor, Edwin D. Morgan. This handsome, popular governor was a business man in politics. Morgan held the very important post of chairman of the Republican National Committee from 1856 to 1864. He was governor of New York for two terms, 1859-62. Although his enemies accused him of wavering in his canal policies and on lobby investigations, the *Argus* (Democrat) afterward admitted that he

had fulfilled his duties "with great fidelity." The Americans nominated another son of old New England, Lorenzo Burrows, formerly of Connecticut. The Democrats again nominated Parker; but in the convention, a merry contest took place and Wood and his delegates seceded, for which Sickles blamed Schell. Before the convention met, Wood was tired of the fight. He reminded Buchanan of his loyalty and declared that, since Buchanan was for Sickles, he would like to be appointed governor of Nebraska territory. Buchanan answered that such a consent on his part would only make matters worse in New York. Complaints of everyone against everyone else were coming into Washington. In October, Wood claimed he was coöperating with the administration. Buchanan supported Sickles, and Sickles was fighting Douglassism. But John Van Buren was again preaching squatter sovereignty. Roscoe Conkling was making his débüt in Congress as a Republican. Seward scored heavily in the last days of the campaign when he coined the famous phrase "irrepressible conflict" in his famous speech at Rochester, October 25. As Alexander well says, the idea was not new but the phrase caught men's ears and thrilled their hearts. His was the old cry that slavery would be at the doors of the free white men of the North unless the Republican party was commissioned to roll back the onset of the slave drivers. As a phrase maker, Seward was superior even to Lincoln. Morgan carried the election over Parker by 17,000. But that able and popular Democrat, David R. Floyd-Jones, obtained the second place in the state, being supported by Hards, Softs and Americans. The Republican victory was much less than in 1856, and showed that the Democrats were by no means out of politics. But hard times and the Kansas troubles returned Congressmen for the most part unfriendly to the administration.

New York City had its expansionists during this decade.

George Saunders, as well as August Belmont, was anxious for action on Cuba, but a Republican House kept Buchanan's hands tied. Vanderbilt was reported to be backing William Walker in Central America, but Buchanan had other plans for Central America, and tried to prevent William Walker from carrying out his schemes. In 1859, Dix reported that there was strong feeling in New York for Cuba. Buchanan was also in favor of a vigorous Mexican policy, but again a Republican House would hear of no expansion. The President's attitude in furthering the doctrine that free ships make free goods naturally had supporters in New York City.

Since Jefferson Davis had tried to read Douglas out of the Democratic party in February, 1859, there was much interest in the Democratic state conventions prior to the assembling at Charleston. Tammany and Wood both sent delegations to the convention at Syracuse. Most writers are inclined to favor the claims of Tammany in the contest. A fight followed. The Softs and their friends left the hall. Dickinson rebuked Wood's action because he had now decided to go with the Softs, who had promised to come to his aid if he had a chance for the presidency. This gave Tammany control. It might be added that Buchanan and Slidell would have accepted either Seymour or Dickinson, in preference to Douglas, at Charleston in 1860, and Dickinson had some support in Virginia as early as 1858. The party indorsed Buchanan's administration, and declared Seward's Rochester speech revolutionary.

John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in the fall of 1859 electrified the country. The Democrats were inclined to say "We told you so," and hoped for a conservative reaction. Seward luckily was in Europe at the time of the raid, but both he and Governor Morgan washed their hands of such a policy. Seward was not a warrior and did not want war then or later. Not so easy was the mind of Gerrit Smith, some of whose papers were

found in the possession of the Browns. Professor Harlow, in a paper in the *America Historical Review*, shows clearly that Smith was Brown's chief promoter. The *Herald* plainly stated that Smith had been making revolutionary utterances as early as 1852. Some of Brown's other abettors at this juncture took a trip to Canada. Smith went to the insane asylum near Utica. He was an honest man who hated suffering and hence had sympathized with the lot of the Negro. But now the thought of this additional trouble to which he had contributed probably caused a mental conflict and temporarily unhinged his mind. Shortly after Brown was hanged, Smith returned home from the asylum. In later years, he never liked to talk of those days. Small wonder! Brown had a fair trial and refused to plead insanity, although there were some cases of it in his family. When he was hanged in Virginia, one hundred guns were fired at Albany in sympathy for the "Martyr's" passing.

In the fall Wood, who was now leading Mozart Hall, staged a return to power in New York City by defeating both Havemeyer and Opdyke, a Republican millionaire, for mayor. Buchanan's friend, Judge James J. Roosevelt, met defeat. Dix wrote that even the Republicans were rejoiced at Wood's victory over Tammany. Postmaster Fowler, popular, educated and generous, had been mooted for mayor, but within a year was a fugitive in the West, charged with having defaulted in the sum of \$155,000. Dix was appointed to the vacancy, cleaned house, and installed an efficient administration. Large meetings, protesting the spirit which incited the Harper's Ferry raids, were held in New York during November and December. At the last meeting, Charles O'Conor declared that the South was the weaker section of the Union, and that the Southern slaveholder was compelled by law to treat his slaves kindly. O'Conor was determined not to have Negro domination in America. His sincerity is shown by his courageous opposition

to the coercion of the South during the Civil War. At the turn of the year, Judge Roosevelt was suggesting to Buchanan the advisability of having New York City created an extra state. By such a reorganization, the Democrats could keep control of the metropolis and send Democratic Senators to Washington.

Friends of Lincoln brought him to speak at Cooper Institute on February 27, 1860. Here he argued that since the fathers were opposed to slavery, the Republican party was truly a conservative party. The *Tribune* praised the effort highly, but Lincoln did not yet become a presidential figure. Two days later, Seward made a clever and rather moderate antislavery speech in Congress, where he presented the Wyandotte constitution made in 1859 for Kansas. People in Washington and in many other places regarded him as the chief spokesman of the Republican party. Nor were the Democrats without hope. Buchanan believed that Seward would be the candidate, and that he could rally the Democrats in Pennsylvania against Seward and win. But he reckoned without the bargain to be struck between Cameron and Lincoln's managers at the Chicago convention in 1860. The *Tribune* was placing Joshua Bates of Missouri in a favorable way for the Republican nomination.

Meanwhile a coalition of antiadministration Democrats and Republicans, under the leadership of Forney and Covode, began an investigation to serve as Republican campaign literature. Some of the Democratic officeholders were shown not to be unselfish statesmen, but the President stood his ground successfully, defied his accusers in two messages, and received many congratulatory letters from friends. While Congress made issues, the parties were gathering delegates for the coming conventions.

In looking over the troubled decade, it would not seem to be wholly the antislavery issue which made the Republican party, but the very practical arts of Thurlow Weed. Had antislavery

been the prime force of the drama, the honors would have gone to Gerrit Smith, not to Seward, for antislavery was but one of the arrows in the quiver of the Auburn statesman. The anti-slavery movement was, as Dickinson indicated, found among the complexes of the New England mind. But the Yankee is clever, and the need of railroads and canals, plus the lure of office, played great rôles on the political stage. The Democrats were divided over power and offices no less than principle. Weed and Dean Richmond were not so far apart in the fifties. If one looks for outspoken convictions, one will find them very pronounced in Gerrit Smith on the one side, and Charles O'Conor on the other. Both of these men were partisans on the slavery question and saw their ideas through. We might perhaps add Dickinson, Jacksonian Democrat. For entertainment, in addition to information, one well might look to the oratory of Raymond, Conkling, James T. Brady, or, better still, to the wit and humor of Prince John.

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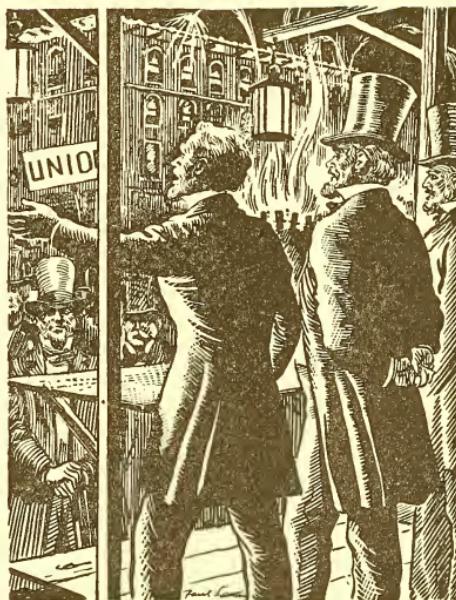
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— IV —

NEW YORK AND THE CIVIL WAR

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NEW YORK AND THE CIVIL WAR

PARTISAN ALIGNMENTS

AS shown in the preceding chapter, the decade 1850-60 saw the gradual disappearance of the Whig and American parties from New York State, most of their personnel being absorbed into the newborn Republican party, though some became Democrats; many Free Soil Democrats became Republicans. Fights between Democratic factions enabled the Republicans to gain control of the state. Originating in differences between radicals and conservatives, the factions were now mainly a matter of allegiance to different leaders. The "Hards" included most of the Federal officeholders and most other conservatives and followed D. S. Dickinson of Binghamton. Former Governor Horatio Seymour was the outstanding "Soft," or regular, leader, ably seconded by the state chairman, Dean Richmond of Buffalo, and Samuel J. Tilden. In New York City Tammany Hall was opposed by Mozart Hall, the organization of the erratic mayor, Fernando Wood. These "halls" were Hard or Soft as suited their own selfish purposes. Both Hards and Softs opposed protective tariffs, objected to Federal interference in state affairs, favored letting the South handle the slavery problem and dreaded the activities of the Abolitionists. While the party had its full share of blind partisans and placemen, men like Tilden, Seymour and John A. Dix were sincere patriots, firmly devoted to the best interests of state and nation.

Thurlow Weed led the New York Republicans. Their pre-eminent statesman was Senator William H. Seward. George William Curtis, William M. Evarts, Horace Greeley of the *Tribune*, Henry J. Raymond of the *Times* and Congressman Roscoe Conkling were other leaders. Having absorbed most of

the Whigs, Free Soilers and Know-Nothings, the Republicans were unyieldingly opposed to the extension of slavery. They favored protective tariffs and a generally aggressive policy.

The year 1860 opened with the Republicans in the saddle. They occupied most of the executive offices and had a large majority in each house of the legislature. Gov. Edwin D. Morgan, a merchant of New York City, was a man of great ability and high integrity. Both United States Senators (Seward and Preston King) were Republicans, as were a majority of the Representatives.

The state's population was nearly 3,888,000—almost half the total population of the future Confederacy, including slaves. Taxable real and personal property was valued at about \$1,422,-000,000. New York had the ablest press in the country. Every city had one or more strong journals, those of the metropolis being the most influential in the nation, read throughout the East and extensively in the Middle West. The chief dailies were the *Tribune*, edited by Greeley and Charles A. Dana, James Gordon Bennett's *Herald*, Raymond's *Times*, Manton Marble's *World* and the *Evening Post*, edited by William Cullen Bryant. *Harper's Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News* and the *Independent* were the most important weeklies. Scarcely second to the press in molding public opinion, was the pulpit of this era. Henry Ward Beecher of Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, Henry W. Bellows of the First Unitarian Church, Edmund S. Janes, the Methodist bishop, and John Hughes, the Roman Catholic archbishop, were the most eminent divines. Throughout the state were other clergymen of note, the most prominent being T. De Witt Talmadge of Syracuse. Most of them sought to exercise a moderating influence upon sectional animosity; others did not hesitate to preach political sermons.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1860

New York played a leading rôle in the campaigns of both parties in 1860. Fernando Wood fought Tammany Hall, and lost in the contest for delegates to the state Democratic convention, but took a full delegation to Syracuse, seized the hall before the official hour, organized a convention and was ready for business when the bulk of the Softs arrived and elected *their* officers. After a genuine riot the regulars withdrew and Wood's henchmen chose delegates to the national convention. The regulars then assembled and the Hards felt it necessary to support the Softs, rather than Wood. Dickinson's favor was won by the promise of the Softs to support him for the presidential nomination "when the convention should display any tendency towards him." Hence the official delegation contained both Hards and Softs, but the latter adroitly gagged the former by a strict unit rule.

When the National Democratic Convention assembled at Charleston, April 23, Wood's delegates were excluded. In two respects New York's activities were significant: by voting for the report of the minority of the committee on resolutions, New York assured its adoption, which precipitated the withdrawal of seven southern states. Then, in the "rump" convention, by voting that two-thirds of the original body was necessary to nominate, New York rendered Stephen A. Douglas' nomination impossible, so necessitating the adjournment to Baltimore.

Wood's delegation was refused admission to the convention of "seceders" at Charleston. When the National Convention reassembled at Baltimore on June 18, some of the seceding delegations sought readmission, though their states had appointed other representatives. New York's vote against the seceders was decisive and contributed to another secession. The

remnant of the rump then nominated Douglas, this state no longer insisting upon the two-thirds rule.

In the convention organized by the Baltimore seceders, New York had two representatives, who were of little importance. This body nominated John C. Breckinridge, who was indorsed by the Charleston seceders. New York was largely responsible for there being two Democratic tickets in the field. Former Governor Washington Hunt of New York presided over the "National Constitutional Union" Convention, which assembled at Baltimore, May 9, and nominated John Bell of Tennessee.

Seward was the leading aspirant for the Republican nomination. Unfortunately, Greeley had become hostile to Seward and Weed because of their indifference to his political ambitions. Radicals like Wendell Phillips doubted the sincerity of Seward's antislavery pronouncements, while Bryant and other prominent Republicans resented Seward's intimacy with "Boss" Weed. Though such leaders as Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts and Carl Schurz of Wisconsin supported Seward, he had alarmed conservatives in pivotal states like Pennsylvania and Illinois by his dicta of a "higher law than the Constitution" and an "irrepressible conflict." Governor Morgan called the Republican National Convention to order at Chicago on May 16. Seward, nominated by Evarts, led on the first two ballots, but Greeley—who had secured appointment as a delegate from Oregon—David Dudley Field, Bryant and James S. Wadsworth, all New Yorkers, worked hard for Lincoln, who received so nearly a majority on the third ballot that Ohio transferred four votes from Chase, and Evarts manfully moved to make it unanimous. New York had very nearly held the fate of the country in her hands at Chicago, as at Charleston. Had Seward and Weed not antagonized Greeley and alarmed the conservatives, Seward might have been nominated on the first ballot. Had

New York played a slightly different rôle at Charleston, James Guthrie of Kentucky might have been the Democratic nominee. "If!"

Dickinson's adherents engineered a Breckinridge convention at Syracuse on August 8, which nominated presidential electors and a state ticket. The Softs, a week later, approved Douglas, nominated a state ticket and combined with the Bell faction to nominate an electoral ticket on which the Bell men had ten places. There was later acrimonious debate as to whether the ten were free to vote for Bell or were pledged to Douglas. The Republicans renominated Morgan for governor by acclamation and indorsed the Chicago platform.

Bitter and hard-fought was the campaign. Fernando Wood attempted a fusion of the anti-Lincoln elements. He and Richmond reached a *modus operandi* but the Dickinson-Breckinridge faction was intransigent. From the first city to the last hamlet, mass meetings, torch-light processions and oratory were continuous. Never had so many distinguished speakers participated in a campaign. Great sums of money were expended in multifarious—and perhaps nefarious—ways. The press, through editorial and news columns, sought to crystallize sentiment for their candidates. Some Democratic papers attempted to frighten Lincoln supporters by reports of a financial crisis. Republican organs charged that these journals and Democratic capitalists were plotting to precipitate a panic if Lincoln won. Stocks fell considerably, but with little effect on the election. Lincoln and Morgan obtained comfortable majorities in New York. A proposed amendment to the state Constitution to confer suffrage on Negroes was overwhelmingly defeated.

EFFORTS FOR PEACE

Thoughtful leaders sought means to compose the differences between the sections. Regardless of party, men of prominence

in New York in December united in a mass meeting, which sent a letter expressing abhorrence of Abolitionist aggressions and urging the South to take no irretraceable step in haste. Similar meetings occurred at various other points and voiced the desire to "maintain peace in any honorable way." The legislature chose a strong delegation to the Peace Conference at Washington (February, 1861). These delegates participated actively in the work of the convention, whose report received only seven votes in the Federal Senate. Almost simultaneously with the appointment of these delegates, the legislature proffered men and money to the government for the maintenance of its authority.

Beecher had not believed that the South would secede, but did not care if it did. Greeley favored letting it withdraw, considering coercion contrary to the Declaration of Independence. The *Times* deprecated aggression, but insisted upon the maintenance of the Union. The *Post* opposed any concessions to the Secessionists; Archbishop Hughes took much the same attitude. Weed's *Albany Journal* argued for honorable compromise. Governor Morgan's message to the legislature (January, 1861), urged that New York set an example of conciliatory moderation. To offset this Fernando Wood proposed that New York City secede from the state and become an independent municipality like Hamburg or medieval Venice. The *Albany Argus* suggested that New York State become independent and lead a federation of mid-western and western states.

All over the state were Democrats and Republicans who believed that Northern radicals, Abolitionists especially, were mainly responsible for the growth of secession sentiment. Many sincere patriotic Democrats agreed with Beecher and Greeley that a "peaceable dissolution of the Union [was] preferable to civil war." Others strove to avert both secession and war by compromise. Seymour asked: "Shall we compromise *after* war or compromise *without* war?" Much obloquy has been cast upon

these "Peace Democrats," who were lumped with Copperheads in the minds of their critics. Contemporary journalists and historians, writing too soon after the war to be unbiased, have depicted the Peace Democrats in a way that threatens to color the permanent picture. Unworthy motives were attributed to them, such as fear of the slave owners, narrow partisanship, even treason. Possibly some were so motivated, but most Peace Democrats were actuated by the highest incentives. Once war was begun, they supported the government loyally; many took up arms, some laid down their lives for the country. Thousands of business men, all over the state, War Republicans as well as Peace Democrats, petitioned Congress to restore harmony. A meeting addressed by leaders of both parties appointed commissioners to confer informally with representatives of the seceding states, concerning "measures best calculated to restore the peace and integrity of this Union." A Democratic convention at Albany unanimously urged the submission of the Crittenden Compromise to the direct vote of the people. On the same day Seward laid before the Senate a petition with 38,000 signatures, praying Congress to find "some plan for the adjustment of the troubles which endanger the safety of the Nation." Seward, who was certainly not a Peace Democrat, spoke for the petition, urging conciliation to save the Union, though evincing a willingness to fight if need be. This was essentially the attitude of most Peace Democrats.

A New York Peace Democrat gave the North a slogan which informed the world that whether or no there were such a thing as *legal* secession, there could be no *peaceful* secession. John Adams Dix, a veteran of the War of 1812, up to a late hour preferred peaceable secession to coercion. President Buchanan appointed Dix Secretary of the Treasury in January, 1861. Informed that the captain of a revenue cutter at New Orleans refused to bring his ship north, Dix telegraphed the collector of

the port to order the second in command to arrest the captain and bring the cutter to New York. "If anyone attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot!"

BEGINNING OF THE CONFLICT

The legislature responded to Governor Morgan's plea for moderation by urging conciliation upon the Federal government, but offering it men and money if needed. This legislature had to choose a successor to Senator Seward, destined for the cabinet. Evarts, Greeley and Judge Ira Harris aspired to the toga. To prevent Greeley's election, Weed threw his influence to Harris, who was chosen. The legislature was still in session when Fort Sumter fell. New York State began its military participation in the war here. Capt. Abner Doubleday, Anderson's second in command, was a New Yorker, as were Lieut. N. J. Hall, the adjutant, and Sergt. Peter Hart. Hall, Hart and Lieutenant Snyder rescued and replaced the flag when Confederate shot carried it away.

The President called for 13,000 volunteers from New York. Morgan ordered the mobilization of seventeen regiments at Albany, Elmira and New York. The legislature authorized the enlistment of 30,000 men for two years and appropriated \$3,000,-000 for war purposes. By April 19, the Seventh Regiment was on its way to Washington. Nearly 47,000 New Yorkers had been enrolled and dispatched by July. An agent was sent to Europe to purchase military supplies for the state. Forty regiments were paid nearly \$3,000,000 in September, by the state, for service between enlistment and transfer to Federal command. Loans to the national government from citizens of the state aggregated nearly \$35,000,000 in the first three months.

Meetings throughout the state pledged devotion to the Union, Peace Democrats vying with Black Republicans. Every national

guard regiment began recruiting and many new ones were organized. The foreign-born citizens were not behind the natives, as is shown by such names as the Steuben Volunteers, the Garibaldi Guards, the Polish Legion, the St. Patrick Legion. When Jefferson Davis sent Bishop Lynch of Charleston to urge recognition of the Confederacy upon the Pope, Lincoln asked Archbishop Hughes to undertake a counter mission. Refusing to go as an official envoy, His Grace went independently and made effective representations at Rome and Paris.

The most stupendous meeting yet seen in America welcomed Anderson's little force to New York, April 20. Probably 50,000 people of every race, creed, color and political affiliation packed Union Square. Even Fernando Wood was enthused and pledged the municipality's resources to the nation. The meeting appointed a committee, chosen from all factions, to collect funds and otherwise assist the Federal government. Largely as a result of its efforts, the city raised \$150,000,000 in three months. James S. Wadsworth loaded steamers with provisions and conducted them to Annapolis. Numerous merchant vessels were built for the use of the Federal government. The board of aldermen appropriated \$1,000,000. Tammany raised a regiment and Mozart followed suit. By the end of the year New York had supplied \$210,000,000—over 80 per cent of the money borrowed by the Federal government. Unfortunately the state also led in the speculation and "profiteering" for which the war gave opportunity. President Lincoln appointed Morgan, Evarts and Moses H. Grinnell a commission with extraordinary powers to assist in procuring and arming ships, dispatching troops and supplies. Historians are unanimous in including Morgan in the brief list of really great war governors. John A. Dix, George Opdyke and Richard M. Blatchford were appointed to act for the Federal government in the disbursement of huge sums. Dix was a Democrat, Opdyke a Free Soiler turned Republican, Blatchford

a "Peace Republican." They received no pay, gave no bond, yet, the President testified, not a dollar intrusted to them was lost or wasted.

In April, New York women organized a "Ladies' Relief Union," which dispatched nurses to the front. Similar organizations, such as the "New York Ladies' Army Aid" and the "Women's Central Relief Association," multiplied. Soon the need of coördination was evident. Under the guidance of the Rev. Henry W. Bellows, they combined to form the United States Sanitary Commission, the forerunner of the American Red Cross. Its excellent work is too well known to need recapitulation. The New York branch alone sent \$15,000,000 worth of supplies and \$5,000,000 in cash to the camps. Women's aid societies arose in every city and village. Troy had three before August and Schenectady and Albany as many or more. A convention of Young Men's Christian Associations met in New York in November and organized the United States Christian Commission to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of soldiers and sailors. Branches soon appeared throughout the country.

War being a phase of politics, it was natural that in the autumn elections Republicans and Democrats followed their usual procedure. A few obscure Democratic papers as early as May began abusing the government at Washington and denouncing the war. Three were presented to the grand jury, in August, for encouraging the Confederates, and were forbidden the use of the mails. These papers had small circulations and no great influence. The state's Democracy steadfastly refused to follow their lead, but the Federal government's action tended to lessen the nonpartisanship of many Democrats. Bull Run cooled the ardor of others. At Syracuse, in September, the campaign began with the Democratic convention. Francis Kernan of Utica, the "keynoter," asserted the duty of the party to be



Gen. George B.



Gen. W. S. Hancock



Gen. Robert E. Lee



Gen. U. S. Grant

FOUR CIVIL WAR LEADERS

equally to "oppose abolition at the North and secession at the South," to aid the national government to the utmost, but not to let the war become one for emancipation. The platform embodied these sentiments. Weed wished to combine all northerners into one "Union" party. Such Democrats as Dix and Dickinson favored it, but Richmond and the masses felt that party divisions were essential to our form of government. They were also affronted by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, with consequent summary arrests, and suspensions of newspapers. So they refused to participate in a "Union" convention. Within the Republican party Weed and anti-Weed factions persisted and a new alignment arose over Weed's plan to wage war in such fashion as to attach the border states to the Union. Radical Republicans scorned this idea.

So two conventions met at Syracuse, September 11—the Republican and the "People's Union." The latter nominated a ticket of Republicans and Democrats on a war platform. Since most of this ticket was indorsed by the Republicans and supported by many Democrats, it overwhelmingly defeated the Democrats, except the candidates for canal commissioners. The Unionists also won both houses of the legislature. In some counties, Republicans and "People's Unionists" agreed upon local and legislative nominations, which were supported by many Democrats. Mozart and Tammany split over the state ticket, which enabled the "Union" men to elect Opdyke mayor.

Governor Morgan's message of January, 1862, was devoted mainly to war issues and conditions. The legislature responded nobly to his appeals. The militia laws were revised and frontier defense provided for. New York's quota of the Federal war tax—\$2,603,916.67—was assumed at once. By well-worded proclamations, Morgan stimulated his supporters to continued effort and sacrifice. He could say with pride that every requisition made by the government at Washington in 1861 had been

honored by New York. Under the calls for volunteers and the draft of July, 1862, New York's quota was approximately 120,000—one-fifth of the whole. This was harvest season and men were loath to enlist, yet Morgan and most of the populace wished to avoid conscription, so a special session of the legislature authorized a bounty of \$50 to each volunteer.

The eyes of the entire North were upon New York in the autumn of 1862. Numerous military disasters, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and the Emancipation Proclamation, had "for a moment, produced hesitation and doubt." The draft caused much discontent; financial difficulties increased. While the war had stimulated manufactures, New York's commerce was hard hit, the losses in the first six months aggregating about \$200,000,000. The combination of these factors made conservatives of both parties dread a bipartisan election. A "Constitutional Union Party" convened at Troy, September 9. It was expected to nominate Dix for governor, in the hope that Democrats and Republicans alike would support him. Richmond had no notion of entering a coalition. He carefully coached a "handpicked delegation" which captured control of this convention and nominated Horatio Seymour. Next day, at Albany, the Democrats nominated him also. Seymour had served with credit in the legislature, as mayor of Utica, and as governor, 1853-54. He had favored conciliation of the South, but war once begun, had supported the administration. He did not wish the nomination in 1862, but felt bound to serve when the party needed him. A man of high moral character, an able lawyer, he was not always a good judge of his political associates. A Jeffersonian constitutionalist, he could not condone the suspension of habeas corpus, arbitrary arrest and the like. As determined as Lincoln upon the preservation of the Union, Seymour believed it could be saved only by strictly constitutional methods. Lincoln purposed to save the Union, even though he had to infringe

the Constitution somewhat to do so—a whole Union with a battered Constitution was preferable to an intact Constitution for a remnant of the Union. Seymour considered Constitution and Union one, whence it was impossible to preserve the latter if the former were infringed one iota.

The twofold nomination aroused the resentment of the Republicans and of some Democrats. Morgan could easily have been nominated again, but refused, so Gen. James S. Wadsworth, then with the army, was nominated. The platform urged a vigorous prosecution of the war and approved the Emancipation Proclamation. Bitter was the ensuing campaign "in which personal vilification largely supplanted argument." Conservatives appealed to both candidates to retire. In October a group calling itself the "Federal Union" notified General Dix that it had nominated him for governor. Dix refused to abandon his military duties for politics. So ended the effort at coalition. Seymour won by a small majority. The Assembly was equally divided; the Senate remained "Union." Seventeen Democrats, among them Fernando Wood, and fourteen Republicans were elected to Congress. Kernan replaced Seymour's Republican brother-in-law, Roscoe Conkling.

SEYMOUR AND LINCOLN

Governor Seymour's inaugural address stressed state rights and announced the governor's powerlessness in national affairs. Yet he devoted four-fifths of his first message to national affairs and state relations thereto. One of his soundest recommendations was that provision be made for the appointment of physicians as commissioners of lunacy to examine inmates of asylums, poorhouses and jails. He pointed out that, despite the war, nearly 76,000 immigrants had landed in New York in 1862, and he foresaw an increase. He suggested several amendments to the militia laws, the elimination of exemption of offi-

cials and the exemption of conscientious objectors. "The Union," he insisted, "must be restored in all its parts." Evidently he foresaw and feared what actually came to pass—that instead of preserving the old Union, a new Union would be created. Seymour was called a "Copperhead" and regarded as the spokesman of the disloyal elements in the North. This scarcely seems warranted. Like Dix and other ardent patriots, Seymour urged conciliation and compromise as long as there was any hope of avoiding war. Thereafter he urged the suppression of all armed resistance. Like most people, he made a distinction between fidelity to country and loyalty to an administration. In war times most persons take the Jacksonian attitude that opposition to the government is treason to the nation, whence a man like Seymour is likely to have attributed to him ideas which he may abhor.

The Assembly of 1863 was a disorderly one. Equally divided between the two parties, there were such riotous contests over the speakership and the election of a United States Senator that the governor had to threaten to intervene. Greeley had hoped to be Senator if Wadsworth were elected. Now he sought the re-election of King or the election of Dickinson. Weed, however, with Seward's aid, procured the choice of Morgan, at whom none could cavil.

Seymour urged that interest upon the state debt be paid in coin, instead of legal-tender paper. By the narrowest majority, a resolution was adopted for the payment of foreign creditors in coin. Regarding the new national banks as an invasion of state rights, the Democrats opposed the bill authorizing their formation and permitting the nationalizing of state banks. The most that could be secured was an act permitting the deposit with the state banking department of two-thirds the necessary guarantee in Federal securities. A constitutional amendment was adopted to permit soldiers to vote by proxy. Reenacted by the next legislature, it was ratified by the people in 1864. This ses-

sion, "perhaps the most disorderly in the history of the State," closed with the arrest of a member for corruption.

Greeley appears to have popularized the word "Copperhead" in New York, to signify a person seeking to force peace by discouraging enlistment, opposing the draft and denouncing "war measures" in general. Many such were Democrats, though some ardent Republicans and nonpartisans felt the same way. Some were actually disloyal, others simply war-weary; still others were conscientiously opposed to what they deemed dangerous infringements of the Federal Constitution. As military and financial burdens increased, Peace Democrats, conscientious objectors and Copperheads became more active. To offset this there were formed in many cities "Union Leagues," that of New York being organized in March, 1863. The same month a similar organization, the "Loyal National League," was established. There was no conflict between the two, Mayor Opdyke and Bryant being members of both.

The President, well aware of Seymour's importance, sought to secure his coöperation. Seymour avowed his intention to "support [the administration] in all measures they may adopt within the scope of their constitutional powers," but made no effort at *rapprochement* with Lincoln.

A mass meeting in New York, June 3, called for another effort at peace by conciliation and denounced the arrest and banishment of C. L. Vallandigham, of Ohio, for incendiary speeches. Seymour characterized this arrest as "not merely a step toward revolution," but revolution itself, with the concomitant of a military despotism.

On Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania (June, 1863), Secretary Stanton called for aid. That very day Seymour mobilized two brigades and the next day sent an entire division to Philadelphia. He went to New York and expedited the dispatch of troops. Nineteen regiments were sent, for which Stanton and Lincoln expressed their gratitude.

The conscription act was unpopular throughout the North. Multitudes felt that forced enlistments were contrary to American institutions, and the provision for substitutes seemed to favor the rich man. Seymour asserted that New York had not received proper credit for troops already supplied, that the draft lists were incorrect, and that unduly large quotas were assigned to Democratic districts. The draft commenced on Saturday, July 11. The New York police had made all practicable preparations to forestall trouble and the day ended without untoward incident. Monday morning, the resumption of the drawing was the signal for assaults on draft offices and innocent citizens. Residences, shops, arsenals, were plundered, despite the efforts of police and marines from the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Newspaper offices, dwellings and the Negro orphanage were burned, hundreds of people beaten and some harmless Negroes slain. Seymour hurried to the city, declared it in a state of insurrection and pleaded with the mobs to disperse. Despite his appeals and those of Archbishop Hughes, order was restored only with the arrival of troops, July 15. Millions of dollars' worth of property was destroyed. The loss of life was variously estimated from a hundred to a thousand. While not the only draft riot in the country, or even in this state, this was by far the worst. The governor urged that the draft be postponed until the Supreme Court could pass upon the constitutionality of the act. The President, while willing to abide by the court's decision, replied that the military crisis rendered it imperative to continue at once. Seymour thereupon issued a proclamation commanding submission to the law and the draft proceeded quietly.

SEYMORE'S LAST YEAR

Gettysburg and Vicksburg made the Union Convention in September a jubilation meeting. The platform indorsed the national administration, deplored factious opposition, pledged

New York to the prosecution of the war, commended emancipation and preserved a discreet silence on conscription. The Democratic platform appealed for conciliation instead of subjugation, condemned arbitrary arrests, conscription and emancipation, and favored encouraging Union sentiment in the South. The convention declined to coöperate with a "Constitutional Union" convention which had met the day before. Abuse and defense of Seymour were the principal features in the ensuing bitter campaign. Republican speakers rang the changes on Seymour's inadvertently beginning his appeal to the draft rioters: "My friends." Seymour charged that the Federal government's policy had caused bankruptcy and undermined the liberties of the people. He denounced the conscription act and especially its operation in New York. But the tide was against him. The Union ticket was elected, with complete control of the legislature. A Tammany-Mozart partition of legislative and judicial nominations enabled bolting Democrats to elect the mayor of New York.

Facing a hostile legislature, Seymour defended his course in regard to the draft and the riots, condemned conscription, legal-tender paper and the suspension of habeas corpus. He wished to preserve the Union, not to make a new nation. This legislature completed the arrangement for taking the votes of soldiers. Seymour had organized eighteen regiments and appointed officers for fifty-six more. The legislature took the appointive power from the governor, empowering the regiments to elect their own officers. No provision was made for further increases. With difficulty a bill was passed to permit state banks to nationalize. Foreign and domestic creditors were to be paid in legal-tender paper. The Assembly passed a resolution favoring the abolition of slavery, but the Senate adjourned without acting upon it.

As the year 1864 progressed, the populace displayed greater

apathy toward the war. Yet industry was flourishing, owing to the need of military supplies. Commerce was recovering; speculation was rife. Specie had almost disappeared from circulation, postage stamps being widely used for small change. Failures attributable to the war totaled \$179,000,000 in 1861, but by the spring of 1863 prosperity was returning, debts were being paid, and in 1864 the total amount of failure was but \$9,000,-000. Immigration dropped from 150,000 in 1860 to 89,000 in 1862, but rose to 193,000 in 1864.

That year two rascals foisted a bogus draft proclamation upon the public, to affect the stock market. Two papers unsuspectingly printed it. Their publication was suspended for several days and their editors arrested. The perpetrators were apprehended and confessed, but escaped with a short term in prison. This incident increased the resentment against conscription when a genuine proclamation called for half a million men. Early's invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania in July alarmed the country for the safety of Washington. Seymour summoned 12,000 hundred-day men, dispatched 800 troops at once and called out various regiments not yet fully organized.

Prominent citizens of Buffalo warned the governor, in August, of threats of a raid by Confederate agents from Canada, to burn Buffalo. Seymour at once ordered the militia commanders of the border counties to embody troops and take precautions necessary to prevent such raids. General Dix warned officials throughout the state that Confederate agents were planning to "colonize large companies of refugees, deserters and malcontents," who were to vote against Lincoln, "shoot down peaceable citizens and plunder private property" about election day. Just before election, the Secretary of War telegraphed the mayor of New York that there had been revealed a conspiracy to burn several northern cities on election day. Seven thousand troops were sent to protect New York. Confederate agents

had planned such fires and the arming of "sympathizers," the release of prisoners of war, and the calling of a convention from New York, New Jersey and New England to form a new confederation to coöperate with the Confederacy. Failure to procure combustibles and the presence of troops frustrated the plan for election day, so on November 25 they attempted to fire simultaneously hotels, lumber-yards, ships, etc., in retaliation for the havoc wrought by Sherman and Sheridan. The fires were all extinguished before serious damage was done. An attempt to rescue Confederate captives from a train at Buffalo also failed.

Greeley continually proffered the President unsolicited advice. In the summer of 1864, he urged Lincoln to treat with Confederate agents in Canada for peace. Convinced that peace could come only through victory, Lincoln sent Greeley himself to negotiate. When Greeley called for aid, Lincoln sent one of his secretaries with a document making peace contingent upon "the integrity of the Union and the abandonment of slavery." The negotiations ceased abruptly.

The Union Central Committee of New York City adopted resolutions, January, 1864, urging the reëlection of Lincoln. A conference at Albany voted down Gerrit Smith's radical resolutions censuring the administration, and adopted others giving it general approval. Lincoln clubs sprang up in all the cities. The Democratic convention to choose national delegates met in February. New York City sent three contesting groups—Tammany, Mozart, Independent. When the convention voted to give them equal representation, Tammany withdrew in chagrin. The unit rule was again imposed. Meetings in various parts of the state demanded the nomination of General McClellan.

As the year advanced, discouragement increased. The *Tribune* and the *Post* opposed a second term for Lincoln. Various individuals and localities began propaganda for Salmon P. Chase and

John C. Frémont. War Democrats and anti-Lincoln Republicans met at Cleveland in May. John Cochrane and Lucius Robinson led the New York delegation. Cochrane presided. Robinson urged the nomination of Grant. Frémont and Cochrane were nominated on a war platform. By September they perceived the futility of their efforts and withdrew. The Union convention at Syracuse in May indorsed Lincoln by acclamation. Next day a convention of War Democrats indorsed Lincoln and Dickinson.

Senator Morgan called the National Union Convention to order, at Baltimore. King delivered the report of the credentials committee; Raymond reported the platform; Curtis wrote the letter of notification. After the unanimous nomination of Lincoln, New York contributed materially to Johnson's nomination, on the first ballot, for Vice President.

Fernando Wood, of Quaker descent, promoted a peace convention at Syracuse, August 18, which listened to harangues by Wood, Vallandigham and others. Eleven days later, August Belmont called the National Democratic Convention to order, at Chicago. Tilden kept Vallandigham off the resolutions committee, though some of Vallandigham's pronunciamientos were adopted. Seymour's refusal to be a candidate threw the New York delegation to McClellan. This state's vote swung the vice-presidential nomination to George H. Pendleton of Ohio.

The radicals wrested control of the state Union convention, September 7, from Weed. Reuben E. Fenton, an ex-Barnburner Democrat, for ten years a congressman, was nominated for governor. He had tact, courage and the ability to manage men. Taking Weed's place, he controlled the state Republican organization for several years. The platform urged vigorous prosecution of the war. The next week, at Albany, the Democrats nominated Seymour by acclamation, though he begged to be excused. McClellan had repudiated the Chicago peace plank,

but such Democrats as Dix, Peter Cooper and A. T. Stewart supported Lincoln.

Anxiously the nation watched for New York's vote. Agents to transmit the proxies were sent to places where there were large bodies of New York troops. Soon Republican journals charged that these agents were flooding the state with spurious McClellan votes. Several agents were arrested by Federal military authorities and many forged ballots seized. One agent confessed. Seymour sent commissioners to Washington to see that state laws were vindicated and soldiers' voting rights protected. The commissioners found some "irregularities," but believed that no fraud had been committed by agents of the state. Later investigators thought that unless these "irregularities" had been exposed in time, New York State would have gone for McClellan, though Lincoln would still have been elected. As it was, Lincoln and Fenton carried New York. The Assembly was largely Union, as were twenty of thirty-one congressmen, Conkling recovering his seat from Kernan.

FENTON'S FIRST YEAR

Governor Fenton's first message (January 3, 1865), expressed gratification "at the condition of material prosperity of the State, as well as with the increasing manhood, self-reliance and patriotism of the people," as demonstrated in their war activities. He urged liberal provision for disabled veterans, and for widows and orphans of soldiers. He was pleased with the state banking system, and gratified that its essential provisions had been incorporated in the Federal currency act of 1863. He got through an act to permit state banks to nationalize without dissolving. Throughout his administration he vetoed many special charters, insisting that incorporations must be under general laws. This legislature appropriated over \$12,000,000, nearly half of which was for war activities, \$1,000,000 for canals and

\$2,000,000 for the payment of the bonded debt. This debt, about \$34,000,000 in 1860, would have been retired by 1865 but for the bounty loans. In that year it exceeded \$50,000,000, a figure not reached again until 1900. However the state was financially sound, credit good, industry and education prospering. A soldiers' home had been incorporated by the legislature of 1863; another was established in 1865, and likewise an agency to care for sick and wounded soldiers. The legislature urged Congress to pass the Thirteenth Amendment, then pending. This was done the same month and ratified by New York among the first four states. To avoid difficulties in taking the vote of soldiers, an act authorized their voting in the field.

Confederate resistance crumbled while the legislature was still in session. New York's jubilation was soon changed to sorrow by the assassination of President Lincoln. President Johnson honestly and courageously tried to carry out Lincoln's policies, in which he was supported by such New Yorkers as Seward, Morgan and Weed, while Raymond was the President's chief protagonist in the House. Gerrit Smith, the noted Abolitionist, was midway between the conservatives who supported Johnson and the radicals who found the Lincoln-Johnson policy too mild. Greeley urged Negro suffrage. He and Smith made a friendly gesture to the South by going on Jefferson Davis' bail bond. Smith favored lending both Southern whites and blacks funds to reestablish their farming activities.

In September the Democratic convention indorsed Johnson's policies, pledged the payment of the war debt, and denounced the radical plan to compel Negro suffrage as a condition for restoring the former Confederate states to the Union. The Union convention was attended by seven prominent generals, five of whom received places on the ticket. The platform indorsed the President, declared for the payment of the war debt, and hoped the Southern states, when restored to the Union, would admit "all their people" to full rights of citizenship. The Union

ticket won by a comfortable majority. Two-thirds of the Assembly and all but one of the Senate were "Unionists." With this election we may conclude our consideration of New York's internal political history during the war, and turn to other phases.

NEW YORK AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Seward's career as Secretary of State needs no recapitulation here. Frederick W. Seward, Assistant Secretary of State, and Charles A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, rendered invaluable service. King, Harris and Morgan ably represented New York in the Senate, and loyally supported the President. Several leaders of the House, of both parties, were New Yorkers. Corning, Conkling, Fenton and Pomeroy were prominent in the Thirty-seventh Congress, which contained ten Democrats and twenty-three Republicans from New York. The next House had seventeen Democrats, Fernando Wood being the most conspicuous and the least useful. Abler men were Griswold and Kernan. The Thirty-ninth Congress had nineteen Republican New Yorkers, with Raymond, Conkling and Pomeroy outstanding. Mr. Justice Samuel Nelson of the Supreme Court was a New Yorker whose juridical ability was unquestionable. There were nine New Yorkers in diplomatic posts, besides numerous consuls and lesser officials. The most important ministries held by New Yorkers were those at Rio de Janeiro, Tokio and Rome. More important was John Bigelow's office of consul general at Paris. Securing incontrovertible evidence that Confederate war vessels were building in French ports, Bigelow prodded Minister Dayton to protest to the French government. He also skillfully countered Confederate propaganda and stimulated enlistments of Europeans in the Federal armies. When Dayton died (December, 1864), Bigelow became minister, and served with skill and credit.

Another New Yorker, literally indispensable to the govern-

ment, was Lafayette C. Baker, head of the secret service, who discovered many plots, frustrated numerous blockade-running exploits, arrested many Confederate agents, besides penetrating the Confederate lines and procuring priceless information.

FINANCIAL AND MILITARY CONTRIBUTIONS

A complete account of New York's financial contributions would require several large volumes. Not only the state, but cities, counties, villages and individuals contributed. Besides taxes, bounties, pensions, the purchase of government bonds, and similar direct contributions, innumerable indirect contributions came from local, state and national relief associations. A splendid example of New York's spirit was the sending of a shipload of food to the destitute of Savannah in 1864.

To help the government, one bank alone bought \$2,500,000 worth of bonds in April, 1861. The next month the Chamber of Commerce and the bankers aided the government in placing a loan. In August the New York banks lent the government \$50,000,000 in gold, which led to their suspending specie payments in December. E. G. Spaulding of Buffalo framed the legal-tender act of 1862, which Erastus Corning and Roscoe Conkling opposed. Gold rose rapidly and much speculation ensued. Unfortunately, but naturally, the financial center of the nation led in this. Soon a gold exchange came into being and later a gold-exchange bank. Prices increased more than a hundred per cent. Wages rose, but not proportionately.

A few figures will speak volumes. The banking capital of the state was \$60,000,000 in 1861; by 1864 it had become over \$107,000,000. Bounties alone cost the state \$3,650,000 in 1862. The classified expenditures rose from slightly over \$3,000,000 in 1860 to \$12,176,000 in 1865. Classified receipts for the same years were \$6,266,380 and \$16,273,106—but the currency in which they were paid had depreciated badly. The total valuation

of property in 1860 was \$1,419,000,000; aggregate taxation, \$18,956,024: for 1865, \$1,550,000,000 and \$45,961,440. The tax rate rose from \$3.83 per thousand in 1860 to \$5.25 in 1864, but dropped to \$4.66 in 1865. In 1860 the state debt was \$34,-182,975.85; it dropped to \$29,058,724.62 in 1862; and rose to \$50,861,349.86 in 1865.

New York supplied the Union armies with over forty generals. The most famous of the regulars were Halleck, Kearny, Sheridan, Warren and Schofield.* Of the volunteer generals the best known were Barlow, Dix, Duryee, Sickles and Wadsworth. Amongst the famous New York commands was Ellsworth's "Fire Zouaves." Colonel Ellsworth was shot, May 24, 1861—being the first Union officer slain—by the landlord of an Alexandria tavern, from whose roof he had removed the Confederate flag. "Remember Ellsworth" became a slogan for New York troops. A New Yorker first wrested a Confederate flag from its staff; another New Yorker, Lieut. J. L. de Peyster, hoisted the Stars and Stripes over the Confederate Capitol, April 3, 1865. The state contributed the equivalent of 300 regiments, including 3 colored ones. The total enlistments, 1861–65—excluding New Yorkers in the regulars and in regiments from other states—was 485,568. Some served thirty days, others four years; some enlisted more than once, so that in terms of three-year service, New York supplied 395,369 men, or about 20.68 per cent of her male population. Thirty-seven were under fourteen years; 225, over fifty. New York troops participated in 2,147 engagements, from May 1, 1861, to April 26, 1865, from Pennsylvania to Texas. Including those who died after discharge from maladies contracted in the service, the state poured out to Mars the huge libation of 53,114 lives. One of the Federal prison camps was at Elmira. While not entirely satisfactory to its oc-

* Gen. Gouverneur Kemble Warren's portrait was placed in the Flag Room in the capitol at Albany, and an equestrian statue of General Sheridan adorns the grounds.

cupants, and though sanitary conditions were poor and the death rate needlessly high, this camp was better conducted than most.

On sea also, New York did her share. Of regular naval officers, in service from April 1, 1861, to April 30, 1865, 440 were born in or appointed from New York, of every grade from rear admiral to assistant engineer, besides 9 chaplains, 67 surgeons, and hundreds of petty officers and enlisted men. The most spectacular New Yorkers were Capt. Charles Wilkes, Capt. John L. Worden and Lieut. W. B. Cushing. Wilkes, commanding the "San Jacinto," was the hero—or villain—of the "Trent Affair," which so embarrassed Lincoln and Wall Street. Worden commanded the "Monitor," built at Greenpoint near the Brooklyn Navy Yard under the direction of its designer, John Ericsson, then a naturalized citizen of New York. The plates for the "Monitor" were made in Troy and John A. Griswold and John F. Winslow of that city assumed 90 per cent of the cost of the vessel. Cushing was the hero of the destruction of the Confederate ship "Albemarle," and many other dashing exploits. The marine corps contained 22 officers from New York, from second lieutenant to colonel.

POLITICS AND INDUSTRY

Four years of war left parties in a flux. Some Democrats took office on a "Republican Union" ticket; some war-weary Republicans turned Democrat, hoping their success might bring peace. As in other wars, civic vigilance and political probity were relaxed. Speculation and graft were rife; bribery, intimidation and ballot-box stuffing appear to have been common with both parties. Corruption of legislators was said to be "common but difficult to prove." War psychology is evident in an act of 1865 requiring voters for delegates to a constitutional convention to take oath, if challenged, that they had not

borne arms against the nation, deserted, aided the enemy or evaded the draft.

The adoption of legal-tender paper increased the cost of the war from five to six billion dollars, whence higher taxes. As paper depreciated prices rose, averaging throughout the country about 217 per cent. Banks prospered, partly because of the national banking act. Their dividends were at least 7 per cent, many paid 15, the Chemical Bank, 24. Unscrupulous men took advantage of the government's need, the fluctuations of the currency and the general uncertainty to "profiteer."

Industry and commerce prospered. The need for munitions, foods, medicines and other supplies at first redounded to the advantage of the importers, as the factories were not prepared to meet the suddenly increased demands. The crisis of 1861 and the activities of Confederate privateers caused numerous commercial failures, but after that year the number was surprisingly small and many new firms appeared. New York could boast 43,000 business establishments in 1861, to about 48,000 in the eleven Confederate states. Insurance companies of all types flourished during the war. While losses were greater, rates were much higher. The merchant marine suffered and the bulk of transatlantic commerce was transported in European bottoms. Nevertheless New York's exports of cereals, flour, etc., increased from about 9,000,000 bushels to 57,000,000. Factories increased their capacity and new ones were erected. New sugar refineries were built; the woollen mills increased in number and capacity, many working day and night. By 1863 many New York cotton mills were turning into linen mills, Troy becoming the center of the collar industry. Toy manufacturing was also stimulated, New York being the center of doll making. Production of New York iron and petroleum increased amazingly. Only Pennsylvania and Ohio had more oil refineries than this state.

The growth of manufactures stimulated the development of transportation. The consolidations Cornelius Vanderbilt effected did not improve the accommodations, but railroad building increased. Roads which had never paid a dividend, by the end of the war paid 8 per cent. A new line to the West, the Atlantic and Great Western, was built from Salamanca. The Erie's entrance into Buffalo started competition with the New York Central, which laid double tracks from Manhattan to Buffalo. Street railway lines were extended and their traffic doubled. The Erie Canal, alone of American artificial waterways, flourished. By 1868 nearly all the grain sent to New York came by canal. Boat building for river and canal traffic increased, though little was done in constructing ocean-going vessels.

Agriculture was affected in two ways by the war: the demand for foodstuffs caused a rise in prices, with a consequent increase of land under cultivation; soon the drift of farm laborers to the army caused a rise in wages. The scarcity of labor threatened to curtail production. The solution was the increased use of agricultural machinery. Many farmers and laborers moved West, as did most of the immigrants landing in New York at this time.

While the price level rose from 100 to 217 per cent, wage increases were only 50 to 83 per cent, and there was much restiveness. Though efforts at unionization were general, certain significant events occurred in this state. A flourishing printers' union at Albany gave a great impetus to the movement. Local trade unions increased from sixteen in 1863 to seventy-four next year. The first trades assembly met at Rochester, March, 1863. The same month a congress of New York and New Jersey labor delegates met in New York to take steps looking to a national organization. This was perhaps one of the factors producing the "Association of Engineers" in New York, to resist

"combinations to regulate wages." Next year the "Boss Plasterers' Association" of New York was formed to combat the demands of journeymen. Buffalo shipowners and shipbuilders associated to resist the demands of mechanics. The opposition of the unions defeated a bill to prevent picketing. A sequel to all this activity was the organization at New York, of a "National Labor Union" in 1868. Such terms as "blacklist," "scab," "lockout" and "strike" were already current to denote actual phenomena. Strikes were milder than now and usually confined to one trade.

The panic of 1861 affected real estate severely and the drain of men to the army increased the depression. The rise in cost of labor and materials discouraged building. Rents rose somewhat, but not in proportion to wages and prices. City tax rates rose about 50 per cent, though valuations increased only about 7.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE WAR

High wages, sudden fortunes, excitement engendered by war, had the usual effect of increasing the standard of living among the majority, though amongst the poorest it was often lowered. While people dressed quietly, ate sparingly and eschewed frivolity in 1861, before the end of 1862 the opera, the theater, the restaurant, the ballroom, the summer resort, the race course and, sad to say, the gambling den, saloon and brothel, were flourishing again. The luxuries of 1855-60 became the necessities of 1862-65. Menageries, minstrel shows, billiard matches, regattas, chess tournaments, were well attended. Picnics of every description attracted unfavorable attention.

Frivolity was only the froth upon the surface; further down one glimpsed wholesome living. Charity, no less than extravagance, was evoked by war. Soldiers' homes and relief organizations in every county and city worked for wounded and disabled veterans and their dependents. Public schools and news-

papers had "onion days," "potato days," etc., to collect supplies for the needy. Besides the millions raised in the Sanitary Fairs of 1863 and 1864, fairs were held for every conceivable benevolence—usually with excellent results. Concerts, bazaars and the like, held by schools, churches and clubs, raised appreciable sums. For three years New York City sent Thanksgiving dinners to the state's sons in service. In 1864 the Union League Club sent about 120,000 "turkeys an' fixin's" to the armies. In one year the American Tract Society distributed to army and navy over 63,000,000 pages of literature. The National Freedmen's Association of New York was one of many organizations united, in 1865, into the American Freedmen's Aid Commission, which sent supplies, teachers, physicians and missionaries to the recent slaves. The American Union Commission cared for refugees, white and black, from the South. Several cities erected large barracks to shelter such unfortunates, gave clothes and supplied homes for orphans and work for adults.

All these new charities took nothing from the old. New York continued to maintain, and to improve, its institutions for the deaf, dumb, blind and insane. The Children's Aid Society continued its splendid work. Newsboys' homes, girls' homes, industrial schools, maintained their records. "General charity to adults," says Fite, "declined, not from any inability on the part of the public to support such work, but because there were fewer people to be relieved." This is corroborated by the reports of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and those of the State Commissioners of Charities, Corrections and Prisons. Sixteen hundred fewer paupers were received by the almshouses in 1864 than in 1861.

The American Bible Society and the American Tract Society more than doubled their work, as did home and foreign mission societies of all denominations. While interest in the churches declined sharply in the first two years, by 1863 a marked im-

provement was apparent. New churches were erected, Sunday schools and Young Men's Christian Associations showed new life, and "revivals" were common.

Governor Fenton, in his first message, deplored the startling increase in crime, and newspapers prated of "carnivals of crime," but these reports were exaggerated. Undoubtedly there were, especially in the earlier months, outbreaks of crime, but usually such were spectacular, like the draft riots, and gave a wrong impression of the situation as a whole. The number of inmates of penitentiaries declined, as did commitments to county and city jails. Many of the potential criminals were "letting off steam" in the army. Another factor was the decrease of unemployment, whence, conversely, there was a sharp increase of crime after demobilization. Drunkenness and prostitution probably increased more than other offenses, but these are notoriously difficult to record. There was no doubt more drinking during the excitement of 1861 and the reaction from strain in 1865 than during the intervening years. Prostitution doubtless increased most when the war was at its height, with more widows and orphan girls unable to find work, or during panics, when factories shut down suddenly.

Certain phases of municipal administration were far from satisfactory. "One man in Mozart Hall," it was asserted, made from \$100,000 to \$200,000 annually, marketing offices. Contractors for municipal functions, who had made a profit when wages and supplies were cheap, found the gains disappearing; so municipal works were neglected. Four thousand more deaths occurred annually in New York than in peace times. Add to this the decrease in marriages and births and the westward migration of rural laborers, and it becomes clear why the population decreased from 1860 to 1865.

An encouraging sign was the continued and increased interest in education. During this period Cornell University and Vassar

College were established and Manhattan Academy became Manhattan College. The state took advantage of the Morrill Act by establishing a college of agriculture at Cornell. While every male college sent many of its students to the front, their places were largely taken by younger men. Law and medical schools increased their attendance; theological seminaries just held their own. The progress of the newly established high schools was retarded by the enlistment of youths, but the lower schools were thronged. Though the city's population declined nearly 90,000, New York City common schools increased their enrollment over 100,000. Similar increases appeared in other cities and the state increased its expenditures for education. Many male teachers went into the army and auxiliary services. The state's normal schools extended their useful work. Textbooks were published in great quantities. New York was the second state to establish night schools (1847). During the war these had an average attendance of 20,000. Church schools also flourished. New York and Boston introduced the kindergarten into American education in 1861.

Public lectures on every subject were in great demand. *Harper's Bazaar, Monthly and Weekly, Leslie's Illustrated News* and the *North American Review* sustained their reputations, and in 1865 the *Nation* was founded. Learned societies flourished and new ones were established in many cities. Of 92 libraries in the North with over 10,000 volumes, New York claimed 16. Foreign as well as native authors were eagerly read. Children's books and biographies were in great demand. Richard Grant White was writing his "Spectator" letters in behalf of the Union cause. George Bancroft varied his multifarious patriotic activities with work on his history. E. C. Stedman published such timely poems as "Kearny at Seven Pines." Richard Henry Stoddard contributed poetry and criticism to metropolitan journals. Gen. J. W. de Peyster brought out his *Practical Strategy and Secession in Switzerland and the United States—*

and the list might be greatly extended. No one can think of New York during the war without recalling the journalists, Greeley, Dana, Bennett, Bryant, Marble, Raymond and Curtis.

Music and art were not neglected. Much of the war poetry and most of the war songs were ephemeral. Patriotism, home and family were the favorite topics. New York supported two opera companies. Clara Louise Kellogg, Adelina Patti, the violinist Urso, the composer-pianist Gottschalk, and Gilmore's band were favorites. Theodore Thomas started a series of orchestral concerts in 1864. The night the Confederate agents tried to burn the city, Edwin, Junius Brutus and John Wilkes Booth were playing *Julius Caesar*. Painters and sculptors were engaged mainly on battle pictures, monuments and war memorials. Some were in the army. The cornerstone of the New York Academy of Design was laid in 1863. Joseph Renwick, architect of Grace Church, was engaged on St. Patrick's Cathedral and plans for Vassar College. Erastus Dow Palmer carved portrait busts and much later, the "Angel at the Sepulchre." Randolph Rogers was engaged on war statues, like that of Seward at Broadway and Fifth Avenue. John Rogers' statuettes, such as "One More Shot" and "The Picket Guard," attracted a perpetual crowd about the display windows.

Science was mainly occupied with war materials, machinery and agricultural implements. Abram S. Hewitt, after studying English methods, erected the first open-hearth furnace, in which he produced gun barrels; and Edward Cooper invented the regenerative hot-blast stove for the blast furnace. Cyrus W. Field, not dismayed by the short life of his first submarine cable, was arousing sentiment and gathering funds for the successful effort of 1866. Fire alarm telegraphs were established about 1864 and New York exchanged a volunteer for a professional department. Experiments of this year eventuated in the first arc light, installed at the Barge Office near the Battery in 1867.

SUMMARY

New York, then, played an important part in the campaign of 1860, giving its vote to Lincoln. Morgan's administration steadfastly supported the government, New York providing more than her share of men and money. Seymour, in his term, varied between coöperation and opposition. Fenton again swung the state into line behind the President. Party lines were broken and re-fused. Despite speculation and depression, industry, commerce and agriculture prospered. There was much municipal and some legislative corruption. While moral standards declined somewhat, the churches made a noble recovery. At the end of the war the Republicans were in control with the radicals in the saddle. Politically, the war had created a new nation. New York, like other states, found it difficult to adjust herself to the new situation. The relaxation of civic standards made almost inevitable the scandals of the following epoch, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

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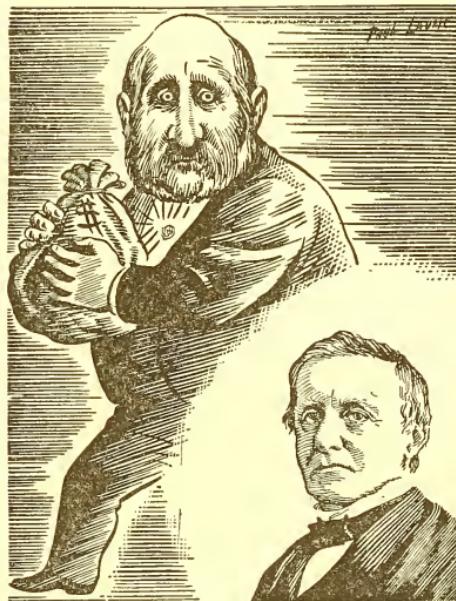
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POSTWAR PROBLEMS AND POLITICAL REFORMERS

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POSTWAR PROBLEMS AND POLITICAL REFORMERS

THE RISE OF TAMMANY HALL

THE history of politics in New York State and City during the post-Civil War period, though instructive, is not altogether pleasant reading. That the strife of parties, considering the depth of feeling aroused by the late hostilities, should be bitter is easily understandable. But it was also marked in the Empire State, as practically everywhere in the Union, by a corruption seldom if ever equaled in the annals of our Republic. Although these humiliating circumstances are often brushed aside as merely typical instances of the demoralization which usually follows war, there were undoubtedly deeper causes. The Industrial Revolution, long under way in the United States, was creating a new order to which our society was not yet adjusted. Industrial and financial-mindedness, with little sense of social obligation, prevailed; and more and more the control of our resources tended to center in Wall Street.

Commodore Vanderbilt, Daniel Drew, Jay Gould and James Fisk manipulated stocks and fought for control of our great trunk lines. The latter two remarkable financial pirates perpetrated in 1869 their attempted Gold Corner with its resulting disaster of Black Friday; and by stock-watering extraordinary made a financial wreck of the useful Erie Railway system. It is true that not all our financial leaders were buccaneers of the type of Gould and Fisk. But the prizes to be won by speculation were so great that questionable transactions, if successful, were usually condoned by business ethics. The picture painted by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner in their not-very-popular novel *The Gilded Age* is only an exaggeration of the truth.

It can scarcely be expected, therefore, that a society which

overlooked lack of scruples in private affairs should insist on high standards of political honesty. Even the episode of the Tweed Ring does not seem quite so disgraceful or grotesque against a business background dominated by Gould, Fisk and their compeers. For it is expecting rather too much of human nature to suppose that men like Tweed and Connolly, products of New York City's East Side, should view the relationships of life with greater sense of obligation than the admired financial chieftains with whom they rubbed elbows. Fisk and Gould were Tweed's friends and even made him a director of the Erie Railroad. Astor and Vanderbilt may have been less friendly, but they raised no objections to the practical politics of the Tweed Ring.

Tammany Hall, for good or ill, was one of the basic institutions of New York City, and its life was inseparably twined with that of the metropolis. Without knowing something of the meaning of Tammany, no one can understand the past politics of New York City or New York State.

Though William Marcy Tweed was its first chief in the sense of being the first single man recognized as its "Boss," the Tammany Society already had a long past when he seized its leadership. Of Tammany it cannot be truthfully said that it was organized by any particular leaders. Rather, it grew out of the social and economic conditions of life in New York City. And this is the reason why, in spite of the errors and crimes which have been committed at various times by some of its leaders, its rank and file have shown little disposition to break their alignment. Often regarded by uninformed outsiders as a mere "plunderbund," it has been held together by a group consciousness, understanding and mutual service, which are natural as well as powerful bonds.

Tammany was a famous Delaware chief, renowned in song and story, who was adopted by the Sons of Liberty, at the time of the American Revolution, as their patron saint in opposition

to the British St. George. Tammany organizations existed among the soldiers of Washington's army, especially in the Pennsylvania Line. Afterward, in 1789, the Tammany Society was reorganized in New York City and given a definite form by one William Mooney, an ex-soldier. Its purposes were social and benevolent. It had an elaborate Indian ritual with a grand sachem heading a council of thirteen other sachems, as trustees, and a sagamore as master of ceremonies. Its appeal was to the middle class. But from the beginning it opposed aristocratic tendencies and was, in some degree, a makeweight against the Society of the Cincinnati, the hereditary organization formed by American and French officers who had served in the War for Independence.

The most famous of Tammany's early meeting places was the "long room" of a certain tavern on the corner of Nassau and Spruce Streets, kept by "Brom" Martling. Across the years come glimpses of cheer and good fellowship in Tammany, and no less a pen than that of Fitz-Greene Halleck (writing, however, of a somewhat later time), tells of enjoyment at its meetings, in lines beginning:

There's a barrel of porter in Tammany Hall.

The Society also took a prominent part in patriotic parades and other civic events. It was, of course, inevitable that such a group should be drawn into politics. Apparently it was the keen sense of Aaron Burr which first appreciated its possibilities, though he was never personally a member. However dark his faults may have been, he was one of the earliest champions of democracy against the aristocratic influence of the Federalist Schuylers, and naturally had close friends in the Tammany Society like Matthew Davis and the brothers Swartwout. Apparently acting under his suggestions, these allies rallied "the braves" and gave Burr that strength at the polls which in 1800

enabled him to carry the city and the state, against Hamilton and Jay, and made him, with Jefferson, a presidential candidate.

From this time there came a differentiation between the benevolent activities of the Tammany Society and its political operations. Under its sachems the former work continued, and remains to the present day an important interest of the Society. In 1805, indeed, Tammany secured a charter from the state legislature as a charitable society. But more and more the power of the organization in politics developed. Though the Tammany Society and Tammany Hall remain closely connected, it is the latter which has been of chief importance.

Now known for a period as "Bucktails," from the emblem which they had adopted, the Tammanyites fought the masterful De Witt Clinton, espousing the cause first of Jeffersonian and later of Jacksonian democracy. Checked for a time by Clinton, they eventually lined up among the allies of Martin Van Buren, whose methods and points of view were highly congenial. And so they profited by the triumph of the Jackson-Van Buren cause. In these conflicts, Tammany at various times secured control of city, state and even national offices. The political advancement of its chiefs loomed more and more as an end.

And it soon appeared that Tammany leaders were not impeccable. In 1809, Benjamin Romain, several times grand sachem, was removed from the office of city comptroller for malfeasance in office, and a little later William Mooney himself was detected in graft as superintendent of the almshouse and relieved of his place. But far more corrupt was the later case of Samuel Swartwout, named as collector of the port of New York by Andrew Jackson, who in 1838 fled the country after embezzling a million and a quarter. This act so impressed New Yorkers that they coined the verb "to swartwout" to describe the act of the Tammany chief. Soon after, William M. Price,

district attorney for the southern district of New York and a confidential agent of President Van Buren, was found in default for a large though lesser amount.

It must be granted that the democratizing of American political institutions did not make directly for financial purity. Through the broadening of the suffrage and the extension of home rule to cities by the Constitutions of 1821 and 1846, New York was directly affected by the new tendencies. And as Tammany was the chief vehicle of democratic politics, the cases of grafting by officials connected with it measure the ethical level of the majority of voters of the period.

Nor did the growing interest of the masses in politics express itself merely in dishonest city officers, for in the 1830s and 1840s Tammany began to be accused of ballot-box stuffing and other fraudulent practices at elections. Strong-arm tactics by gangs of rowdies rendered many elections farcical and led to bloody fights and riots. Yet in this matter, Tammany seems to have been no worse than the rival Whig organization, which employed violence and fraud with at least equal enthusiasm. The violence on both sides was increased by the interjection of the native-American issue.

Tammany has always boasted of its patriotism and at first only native Americans were admitted. There were conflicts and fights between its members and the Irish. But the flood of Irish immigration in the 1840s made the votes of naturalized Irishmen too valuable. Indeed it came to pass that a considerable proportion of the poorer citizens of New York were of Hibernian extraction. So the doors of Tammany Hall were opened to the Irish and, once admitted, they speedily rose to places of leadership. Schooled in conspiracy at home through the repression policy of the British government, they readily learned all the tricks of "the great game of politics" as played in America. Yet it is untrue to assert that the government of New York

City was corrupted by the Irish. They proved, indeed, apt pupils. But the conditions which created Tammany Hall were those of an American metropolis, and its methods had been in large degree created before the Irish immigration.

As the problems of the city became more complex, Tammany developed in organization and in desire for public plunder. But previous to the Civil War it never had any single absolute chief like the famous leaders of later days. The first really dominating corruptionist in New York City was Fernando Wood, mayor from 1855 to 1857, and again in 1860 and 1861. Born in Philadelphia of Quaker origin, a native American, Wood for much of his career worked with and through Tammany. But he was never dictator of the Wigwam. In the end he fought Tammany, organizing a rival machine in 1858, called Mozart Hall from its place of meeting; and Wood was eventually overthrown by the Tammany opposition led by William Marcy Tweed.

Under Wood were applied most of the schemes of corruption, such as cheating on contracts, accepting bribes, and collection of money from protected criminals, which have been the reliance of venal politicians in our cities ever since. Though most of these schemes were old enough even in Wood's time, he and his followers first applied them in the grand manner. It was in Wood's school that most of the Tammany leaders of the next generation learned their politics. During a part of the Wood régime, the board of aldermen of New York City was so corrupt that it was commonly known as the "Forty Thieves." Of these, the one whom fate marked for the greatest fame was Tweed.

THE TWEED RING AND ITS METHODS

Tweed was born on April 3, 1823, at Number 1 Cherry Street, New York City, a native Protestant American of the

third generation and, as his name shows, of Scotch descent. His father, Richard Tweed, a chair-maker by trade, did a good business. The conception of William Marcy Tweed which lingers in tradition is that he was a huge, drunken and ignorant Falstaff, a sort of music-hall comedian, shameless in corruption, but with some strong qualities such as courage, loyalty to friends and lack of hypocrisy. This myth is due very largely to the pencil of Thomas Nast, the cartoonist. But it appears that Nast's Tweed was not altogether the real man. Tweed was by no means so ignorant nor so crude as tradition would have it, nor does the comedy element appear so prominently in his personality. He was not given to drink. He was both less picturesque and less interesting personally than usually supposed.

Brought up on the East Side of New York City in pre-Civil War times, Tweed's environment familiarized him with the coarser side of life and made him a hardened realist. Yet his parents, feeling that he had ability, were anxious that he should have advantages and sent him for a while to a good boarding school in Elizabeth, New Jersey. Tweed had meanwhile worked for his father and also in a hardware store. But in school he learned to keep accounts and on his return became a bookkeeper. A little later he was employed by a brush factory in which his father held a minor interest, married the daughter of the chief stockholder, Mary Jane Skadin, and became a member of the firm. Still under voting age, he had done remarkably well so far.

But it was not by such prosaic methods that Tweed won prominence. He was a big and strong boy who soon learned to use his fists. Victorious in many street battles, he became the leader of the "Cherry Hillers" as his youthful gang was called. Naturally aggressive and a leader, he thus became a sort of neighborhood champion and hero. Unlike some other Tammany chieftains, Tweed apparently never entered the professional prize ring. But his early popularity was unquestionably

due in part to his physical prowess. He was known as "Big Bill."

Like most young New Yorkers of his day, Tweed was attracted by the activities of the volunteer fire companies which played a large part in both the political and social life of the city. Accordingly, in 1849, he helped organize a new unit, "Americus Engine Company No. 6," and eventually became foreman. This company gained fame as "Big Six" and its emblem, a Bengal tiger, became doubly famous, for it was the origin of the Tammany Tiger.

Tweed seems to have had no special ambitions for a political career. But a man of his popularity was certain to be drawn into the current of ward politics. In these years, tumultuous conflict was raging in New York City between the Whigs and Native Americans on the one hand and Tammany Hall, which welcomed naturalized foreigners, on the other. Though of native stock himself, Tweed had little use for intolerance, and naturally gravitated to Tammany. But to enter politics at its lower levels in New York City at that time meant to engage in corruption. This was the price of success; and Tweed with the others paid it as a matter of course.

At twenty-eight, he was elected an alderman and had the valuable experience of serving as one of the "Forty Thieves," being recognized as one of their leaders. Two years later, Big Bill was chosen to Congress and for a term represented his district in Washington. It was a time when the sectional struggle was fierce. But though it was useful training, the foreman of the Big Six was not at home in national affairs. Wisely refusing renomination, he returned to the field he knew best. Though holding no higher post than that of a member of the board of county supervisors, Tweed now rose rapidly in the Tammany organization and began to acquire wealth. Nor did the storm of the Civil War have much effect on his career. He was of

course opposed to the Republican party, but never took so offensive an attitude toward the Federal government as Fernando Wood. The attempts to connect Tweed with the draft riots have little foundation, though the Boss did receive the cheers of the mob as he appeared beside Governor Seymour when the latter made his famous speech to the rioters.

In the struggles between Mayor Wood and the regular Tammany organization, he played a leading part and, with the elimination of the slippery Fernando, Tweed consolidated his own power as boss. From that time until 1871, he dominated the officials in the city government. By making Mayor John T. Hoffman governor of the state (1869-72) he widened his control. But although Big Bill was the mainspring of the ring, this plunderbund was a partnership. With Tweed were associated both useful tools and shrewd advisers. The show figure was one A. Oakey Hall. Of English ancestry, this person was a gentleman in breeding, a college graduate, and a man of fashion and wit. A former Whig and Republican, he had deserted his party in protest against the nomination of the plebeian Lincoln. Him, Tweed made mayor of New York and planned to raise to the governorship. But Hall was in many respects the most despicable member of the gang. He at least knew better. The other two major conspirators were Richard B. Connolly and Peter Barr Sweeny, each of whom had a certain perverted ability.

Sweeny, whom Nast called Peter "Brains" Sweeny, was a smooth lawyer and a very crafty politician. Unusually dark in complexion, he seems to have been the archetype of the conspirator. But he lacked courage and needed the indomitable Tweed and the resolute Connolly to make him effective. Sweeny was a native New Yorker, the son of a saloonkeeper. Connolly, on the other hand, was of Irish birth, a bank clerk, with an uncanny facility in figures, and a man of some culture. Him, Nast

represented as "Slippery Dick." His rise to influence had been due largely to his success in organizing the Irish-American vote. Long a leader in Tammany circles, he had done much to turn his countrymen against Fernando Wood and so contributed to Wood's overthrow. Firm and able, Connolly was feared even by Big Bill himself. Connolly became comptroller of the city, a position vital to the ring because it enabled them to control the payment of municipal monies.

The ring had certain subordinate members and many tools. One of its worst satellites was Judge George G. Barnard, whom Tweed raised to the supreme court of the state. Few public records are worse than that of this Yale graduate. It was an order of Judge Barnard which enabled Fisk and Gould to wreck the Erie Railroad, and the decisions of this venal jurist gave necessary aid to the Tweed Ring. Among the minor characters of the ring was the flashy Henry W. Genet, grandson of "Citizen Genet," the French ambassador, and the daughter of George Clinton.

The methods employed by the ring to loot the city treasury were as complex as the great game of politics itself. But the main reliance of the brazen robbers was contract padding. The figures on the bills of city contractors were raised, sometimes, it is said, even by adding ciphers. Then the amounts were allowed by Comptroller Connolly and, after the contractor had been given an extra sum for his trouble, the surplus went into the pockets of the ring. As to the total amount stolen, there is wide difference of opinion, which arises in part from different methods of figuring possible loss to the city. Some would count in such things as indirect loss due to inefficiency of administration. But several authorities agree upon \$54,000,000 as the approximate amount stolen directly. And it must be remembered that the relative value of a million dollars was greater in 1870 than in 1935.

The odium of these brazen thefts has been made by partisan writers to rest wholly upon the Tammany organization. But Tweed's machinations could not have succeeded without material aid from the Republican camp. The foundations of his power had rested in his control of the board of supervisors of New York County, which, in 1857, had been made bipartisan by the Republican legislators at Albany, in an attempt to check the control of New York City by the partisans of Fernando Wood. But Tweed, who well knew how to reach understandings with Republican politicians, found it a simple matter to secure the support of one or more supervisors nominally in the opposition group. Later, in his operations at Albany, it was never difficult for Tweed to secure a few votes from upstate legislators, when circumstances made it desirable. These latter cases are, of course, merely examples of individual venality, rather than of the collusion of organized parties. But the career of Tweed does show that local political leaders are only too prone to find a common interest in resisting nonpartisan movements of protest.

The success of the Tweed Ring in dominating New York City led it to reach out into state politics. In 1866 the Boss had made John T. Hoffman, an outwardly respectable person, but a pliant tool, mayor of New York City. Hoffman's administration was popular, though it enabled the ring to carry on without interference. In 1868, therefore, Tweed put him forward for the governorship of the state, and, aided by the national Democratic drift of that year, succeeded in electing him. His place as mayor was supplied by A. Oakey Hall. The Democrats held both houses of the state legislature in the elections of 1869. Tweed was in a position of strong tactical advantage.

In consequence, he inspired the drawing up and adoption of the new city charter by the required legislation at Albany in 1870. This was so skillfully devised that it received the support

of many reformers, including the venerable Peter Cooper. It seemed to embody the principles of increased home rule and greater concentration of executive responsibility. But its real purpose was to facilitate the looting of the treasury. It gave complete control over the payment of city monies to a newly created board of auditors, consisting of the mayor, the comptroller and the commissioner of public works. As Tweed caused himself to be named to the last office, the arrangement simply delivered control of the peoples' money to A. Oakey Hall, Slippery Dick Connolly and Big Bill. Nevertheless, the new charter went into effect.

But Tweed, whose career so far had been a continued success, stood ready to reach out further. He aspired now to manipulate even the councils of the nation. He planned to secure the election of John T. Hoffman as President of the United States and to advance "the Elegant Oakey" to the governorship. And such an outcome appeared by no means impossible.

Meanwhile, one of the most unhappy elements in the problem was the apathy of the people. Nowhere was that strange indifference to the details of government and public administration which characterized Americans during the latter part of the nineteenth century more unfortunately displayed than in the attitude of the people of New York City toward their boss. Even after his stealings had become patent, the citizens, intent upon gainful individual business, showed little interest. By acquiescence, they indorsed the view that to use public office for private plunder is the regular course of our democracy.

Tweed, as was to be expected, had enemies. In his rise to power, he had to supplant Fernando Wood. Later he was opposed by such men as John Morrissey, picturesque ex-pugilist and gambler, and Sheriff James O'Brien, who organized the "Young Democracy" against him. But these were men of his own stamp, who played the game more or less as he did. The real

danger lay, naturally, in the forces of reform. Against these, if once aroused, the boss had in the long run little chance. From first to last, Tweed had to contend against Samuel J. Tilden, the great lawyer who represented in many ways the best traditions of the Democratic party in New York. But Tilden, although offering all possible resistance to Tweed and Connolly, did not possess the rugged fighting spirit to lead a crusade against them. Not until Tweed's wrongdoings had been laid bare by others did Tilden join in the hunt. Then, however, with great keenness, he took virtual charge of the prosecution. The final overthrow and rout of the ring was in no small measure due to his efforts.

OVERTHROW OF THE TWEED RING

It is said that the first public denunciation of the ring's dishonesty came from the eccentric but brave "Citizen" George Francis Train, a man whose vagaries alternately amused and stirred the New York of that period. The really dangerous attack, however, came from George Jones, the proprietor of the *New York Times*, and his gifted editorial writer, the Englishman, Louis John Jennings. The attitude of the city press is open to the gravest criticism. Horace Greeley and the *Tribune*, which crusaded so militantly against slavery in the South, refused to criticize the Tweed Ring. Dana's *New York Sun* went so far as to propose, facetiously perhaps, the erection of a monument to Tweed for his public service. Bennett of the *Herald*, and even Bryant of the immaculate *Evening Post*, did little for civic righteousness. But the *Times* boldly assailed the machine, although for a time without positive proof of the thefts of the ring. It is hard indeed to overestimate the service to the public of Jones and Jennings, at first fighting almost alone.

Powerful help came also from another most interesting source, namely, the pencil of the master cartoonist, Thomas

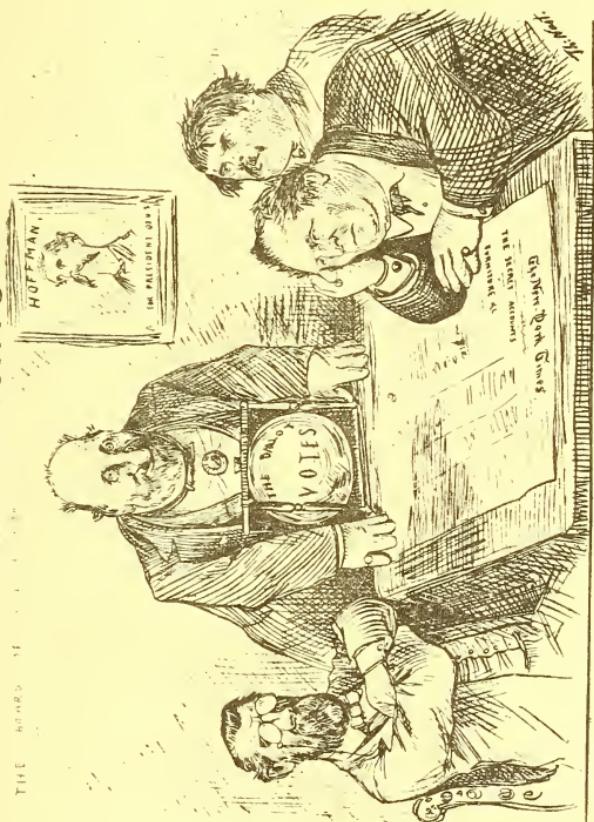
Nast. The career of this gifted illustrator is important, not merely because of his share in the exposure of Tweed, but also because of its influence upon the art of American political cartooning. Cartooning had indeed been practiced not unskillfully even before the Revolution. But such was the superiority of Nast that he may fairly be said to have given to cartooning in this country its modern form. Surely it is no small claim to fame to have given to the world of American politics, those significant symbols—the Tammany Tiger, the G. O. P. Elephant and the Democratic Donkey.

Nast was of German birth, son of a musician; but, brought to New York in infancy, he grew up on the East Side, one of the new type of cosmopolitan Americans. With little formal instruction but a "prepotent urge" for drawing pictures, Nast became a successful illustrator for *Frank Leslie's Weekly*, *Harper's Weekly* and other magazines. But his whimsical pencil turned by natural instinct to cartooning. Nast knew the East Side as well as Boss Tweed and Dick Connolly. He knew Tweed, his character and environment, and the elements of his popularity. Armed with the weapon of ridicule, the unpretentious little artist was a dangerous enemy.

The cartooning of Nast in *Harper's Weekly* against the Tweed Ring is world-famous. That Nast, by skillful exaggeration, gave an interpretation of the boss's personality that is not altogether truthful is probable. For Tweed was hardly the great, thick-skinned, drunken, but humorous, boor represented by the pictures. Yet as a means of attack upon the ring, the cartoons were effective. The quirk of the pencil which gave to Tweed's head the image of a money bag and which familiarized everybody with the forms of Peter Brains Sweeny, Slippery Dick Connolly and the Elegant Oakey was more effective in reaching the public than all the legal learning of Tilden.

Tweed recognized at once the danger from Nast and did his

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THE BOSS... "CHEER UP BOYS, THERE'S NO USE CRYING OVER SPILT MILK AND THEN COUNT THE VOTES WE'RE SAFE."

THE RING'S REACTION TO EXPOSURE

best to intimidate him or buy him off. But the chubby artist was an honest man and a patriot, and resisted every attack.

Let's stop them damned pictures [Tweed is declared to have said]. I don't care so much what the papers write about me — my constituents can't read; but damn it, they can see pictures!

The ring offered Nast \$500,000 to drop his campaign and study art in Europe. But Nast did not have a price.

Perhaps the most famous of Nast's anti-ring pictures are the cartoons entitled "Who Stole the People's Money" and the even better remembered "What are you going to do about it?" In the former cartoon Tweed, with a money bag for a head, and all his well known accomplices stand ranged in a circle and, at the question "Who Stole the People's Money?" each points his thumb at the next ringster and replies: "'Twas Him." The latter drawing shows the Goddess of Liberty prostrate in the arena with a ferocious Tammany tiger standing over her, while Tweed and his ring, garbed as Roman senators, sit in the balcony, all turning thumbs down. "What are you going to do about it?" was the famous rejoinder with which the boss is said to have greeted the complaints of his critics.

The attacks of the *Times* and of Nast and the influence of Tilden began to make an impression on even the callousness of public opinion, but the issue was brought about by a quarrel among the thieves themselves. Although it was evident that the treasury was being robbed, yet the foes of the ring had been unable to produce positive proof of their statements, for naturally Comptroller Connolly refused to let the public see his accounts. But one day in the last week of May, 1871, ex-sheriff James O'Brien walked into the office of the *Times* and laid upon Jennings' desk exact transcripts from the comptroller's records which had been made by two of his own protégés, O'Rourke

and Copeland. Here was complete evidence of the stealings of the ring.

James O'Brien was himself a politician with a questionable record. At one time an enemy of Tweed, he had combined with John Morrissey in organizing the Young Democracy against him. Later, however, he had made his peace with the boss. But, not securing what he regarded as proper "recognition," he obtained through his henchmen the dangerous evidence. With this he appears to have tried to blackmail the ring. Then, unable to secure his price from Tweed, he took his revenge by handing the documents to the *New York Times*. Now at last Tweed began to flinch; and the ring, sending Connolly as ambassador, offered Mr. Jones \$5,000,000 not to print the transcripts. He was, of course, met with a stern refusal, and, on July 8, 1870, the *Times* began to publish the evidence.

The end of the tragi-comedy was in sight. An indignation meeting at Cooper Union, presided over by William F. Havemeyer, was followed by the formation of a Committee of Seventy Citizens. There was even talk of lynching Tweed. Tilden now came forward to direct the attack and several of Tweed's confederates promptly turned traitor. Even Connolly, realizing that long resistance was impossible, came to terms with Tilden. In the end nearly all concerned, save Big Bill himself, escaped serious punishment. Connolly and Sweeny fled to Paris, though the latter, eventually becoming lonesome, agreed to make restitution of \$400,000 to the city treasury and was allowed to return to New York. Judge Barnard, on impeachment, was removed from the bench. The Elegant Oakey, who brazenly insisted that he was ignorant of the corruption, was found "not guilty" in a jury trial. His political career was of course ruined, but he resumed the practice of law in New York and even appeared on the stage in a play written by himself portraying the vindication of a young hero wrongly accused of theft.

A few of the minor confederates were punished, but Tilden, as well as public opinion in general, unmindful of the smaller fry, concentrated in wreaking vengeance on Tweed personally. Yet, in spite of the vigor of the attack, the ex-boss still had enough influence to foil the attempt to inflict any severe penalty upon him by criminal action. But the able Charles O'Conor, who directed the prosecution in its later phases, promptly switched to a civil action to recover the amounts stolen by Tweed from the city treasury. And in default of the enormous bail required, Tweed was placed in nominal confinement in the Ludlow Street jail. Taking advantage of the wide liberty allowed him, he then escaped in disguise to a coasting schooner which landed him at St. Augustine. Thence he sailed on a fishing boat to Havana. Though imprisoned for a while for lack of a passport, he sailed at length for Spain, disguised as a common sailor.

But by this time the United States government had received information as to his whereabouts and a cablegram to the Spanish authorities asking for his arrest preceded him. And by a strange freak of fortune, the former boss was recognized through one of Nast's cartoons in *Harper's Weekly*, which had found its way to Vigo. In this picture, Tweed, clad in prison stripes, was represented as a huge brute holding two small figures in one hand, and a club in the other. It is said that the confused Spanish officers in seizing Tweed acted in the belief that he was a notorious kidnapper. That Tweed was recognized at all is a tribute to the skill of Nast's pencil.

Tweed was returned to the Ludlow Street jail, where his health speedily broke. Infirm as he now became, he was not made to suffer the full rigor of penal confinement. But the efforts of his friends and even of some of his prosecutors to secure his release failed, and he died in jail in April, 1878, just after his fifty-fifth birthday.

Perhaps no episode in the entire record of American cities

remains so vivid in the public mind as that of the Tweed Ring. Tragic, grotesque, pitiful, shameful, a high light in the picture of that particular decade and locality, it still holds attention. The history of the ring, of course, taught valuable lessons. It brought into clear relief the difficulty of applying democracy to the complicated task of American city government. It has meant much to reformers and to students of municipal life. Unfortunately, it has been of equal value to the wrong type of politician. The overthrow of the Tweed Ring did not end corruption, but it taught the corruptionists to avoid methods as crude and easy of detection as those of Big Bill. Greater finesse and more skillful concealment are now everywhere employed.

GOVERNOR TILDEN DISRUPTS THE CANAL RING

Among the heroes of the battle, Samuel J. Tilden reaped the most direct reward. The only hope of the Democratic party in the state was now to nominate him for governor. Backed among others by no less a person than "Honest John" Kelly, the new leader of Tammany Hall, Tilden was triumphantly elected in 1874 over the Republican incumbent, Gen. John A. Dix (1873-74). To this Republican overthrow the poor record of Grant's administration at Washington and the hard times following the panic of 1873 contributed.

Tilden stands, of course, among the most prominent Americans of his generation. A highly educated man, an experienced politician, a great lawyer, he represented the school of thought which seeks efficiency, economy and business methods as the chief desiderata in American government. Cool, calculating, not over eager for direct conflict, he led by force of reason rather than by personality. Of slight physique, delicate health, a lifelong bachelor, he contrasts strangely with such show figures of the period as Roscoe Conkling or James G. Blaine. But

at a time when the judgment of the masses was still warped by passions arising out of the Civil War, Tilden proved at Albany an ideal executive.

His administration was marked by another struggle with corruption in the form of the "Canal Ring." Although the proceedings of this group are just as indicative of the low level of political morality as are those of the Tweed Ring, its story is much less well known. No doubt this is due to the lack of picturesque and spectacular features and personalities in the Canal Ring. Moreover, its total stealings may not have gone much over \$5,000,000. Yet so long as theft is theft, it is hard to see that the skillfully covered plunder of these upstate grafters is essentially different from the loot of Big Bill Tweed.

The Canal Ring was a conspiracy of politicians and contractors to defraud the state in connection with the work of repairing and improving the canal system. The method was to secure contracts for the firms in the ring; and, by coöperating with the district engineers, have their dishonest and shoddy work approved and paid for in full by the state. It had been understood for some time that such a ring was in operation. But its influence in the legislature at Albany and with the political parties had been sufficient, in spite of a senatorial investigation in 1868, to prevent interference. Naturally, the ring dreaded the activity of a keen scrutinizing lawyer like Tilden, and put forth its greatest efforts to prevent his election as governor. When he was nevertheless inaugurated at Albany, the doom of the conspiracy was at hand.

After collecting evidence secretly, yet searchingly, Governor Tilden launched his attack in his famous message of March 25, 1875. His charges created a sensation and resulted in the appointment of a commission of investigation by the legislature, which submitted its report on February 15, 1876. The findings revealed beyond the shadow of reasonable doubt the frauds

which had been perpetrated. So far as the ring can be said to have had a head, it was State Senator Lord of Monroe County; but the chief beneficiaries seem to have been the Syracuse contracting firm of Belden and Dennison. The ring was bipartisan, containing both Democrats and Republicans. Thus, of the Syracuse partners, the bluff and genial Henry D. Dennison was a Democrat, while the active churchworker, James J. Belden, was a Republican. But the majority were Democrats, a circumstance which brings out in stronger relief the moral courage of Tilden in attacking the ring.

Legal proceedings were initiated against the canal men, which, among other things, resulted in a judgment against Belden, Dennison and Company, December, 1877, during the rule of Governor Lucius Robinson (1877-79), to the amount of \$387,000, of which they were declared to have defrauded the state. Two years later, however, December, 1879, the judgment was reversed. But, although as usual not all the guilty were punished, Governor Tilden had succeeded in making it impossible to carry the robbery further. Once exposed, the ring could do nothing but disappear. Individually, however, not all of those who had profited were eliminated from public life. James J. Belden, for example, was later elected mayor of Syracuse and pursued, in that fair city, a successful career both in business and politics.

Although it is now largely forgotten, the battle against the Canal Ring aroused, at the time, great interest and bitter feeling. And the fruits of victory went to the shrewd little governor, who now stood out more than ever as a national figure and the chief hope of his party. Since Grant's second administration at Washington had been fouled by revelations of corruption even greater than those of his first, it was the manifest play of the Democrats to nominate a statesman who stood for honesty and the exposure of graft, especially when he hailed

from a state with so large an electoral vote as New York. The nomination of Tilden was strongly contested by the favorite sons of other states. Tammany Hall, too, now cast its influence against the reform governor. So strongly did the drift of public opinion run toward him, however, that Tilden was nominated by the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis on the second ballot.

The circumstances of the unusual presidential campaign of 1876, in which Tilden was opposed by Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio, are, of course, known to all students of American politics. On election day, many more votes were cast for Tilden than for Hayes but, by bold manipulation, the decision on the counting of the electoral vote of three Southern states was placed in the hands of a specially appointed electoral commission which was composed of eight Republicans and seven Democratic members. This body, by votes of 8 to 7, gave all the disputed electoral ballots to Hayes, and thus, by a majority of one vote in the electoral college, declared him President.

Had the United States not just emerged from a civil war, it is probable that the disputed election would have resulted in violence. But even the fierce partisans of that period were unwilling to resort again to "the last argument." And it must be admitted that, although a thwarting of the declared will of the people, the decision for Hayes was "legal." Under the circumstances, Samuel J. Tilden performed an important service in declaring that he would submit to the judgment of the commission, however much he objected to its findings. And his attitude determined in some degree that of his partisans. Though some have regarded his position as a sign of weakness, reflection has convinced most observers that it represented patriotic self-sacrifice.

The Democratic party naturally regarded Tilden as a poten-

tial standard bearer who would surely lead them to victory at the next opportunity. The collapse of the health of the veteran lawyer, however, coupled, no doubt, with the growing antagonism of Tammany Hall, brought it about that Tilden was never again nominated. For years, he remained an interesting figure in the background of both national and state politics, but never again held high office.

PARTY MACHINES AND PARTY BOSSES

From the conclusion of the Civil War to 1900 a dozen men occupied the governor's chair—half of them being Republicans and half Democrats. Gov. Reuben E. Fenton (1865–68) defended the people's rights against the railroads. Gov. John T. Hoffman, a graduate of Union College and mayor of New York City, during his two terms (1869–72) was too closely identified with the Tweed Ring for the good of his own reputation. Gov. John A. Dix (1873–74), with a fine record in the Civil War and long service in public office, made a rather colorless governor. Gov. Samuel J. Tilden (1875–76) completed his punishment of the Tweed Ring and broke up the Canal Ring. Gov. Lucius Robinson (1877–79) carried on Tilden's program of economy and reform. Gov. Alonzo B. Cornell (1880–82) carried forward an enlightened movement for the improvement of city government. Gov. Grover Cleveland (1883–85) followed a sensible course in managing the affairs of the state. Gov. David B. Hill (1885–91) was an advocate of home rule and a friend of the farmer and laborer. Gov. Roswell P. Flower (1892–94) managed affairs in a businesslike manner. Gov. Levi P. Morton (1895–96) put into operation the Constitution of 1894. Gov. Frank S. Black (1897–98) reformed the judicial system. Gov. Theodore Roosevelt (1899–1900) investigated canal scandals, taxed public franchises, and investigated police corruptions in New York City.

Meanwhile, the bitter partisanship of the post-Civil War years had brought the consolidation, in New York State as well as in its cities, of famous political machines in both of the great parties. On the Republican side, especially, appeared gifted organization "leaders" as their admirers asserted, or "bosses" as their detractors called them, who, through their ability to choose candidates and issues and to deliver the party vote, exercised vast influence. Party organization had, of course, been well established in this state in the ante-bellum times. Aaron Burr was a pioneer, and Martin Van Buren and "the Albany Regency" on the Democratic side, and Thurlow Weed in the Whig and Republican parties, had familiarized the voters of the Empire State with "organization methods." As the state, in contrast with New York City, was predominantly Republican, it was natural that the outstanding leaders appear on that side.

As the long and successful career of Thurlow Weed was brought to a close by his identification with Secretary Seward and President Johnson's administration, several aspirants for his political mantle became prominent. Of these, for the time, the most powerful seemed to be the tall and courtly Col. Reuben E. Fenton of Chautauqua County, a former governor (1867-68) and at that time United States Senator. Resembling Weed in his methods, Fenton possessed ability in political organization, though he lacked combativeness. Before his power as state leader was firmly established, however, it was contested by the more vigorous personality of New York's other United States Senator, Roscoe Conkling of Utica. This remarkable partisan, though a highly educated man and a learned lawyer, owed his prominence mainly to his personal magnetism, his remarkable powers as an orator, his high-strung, domineering personality, and the extreme character of his views, which, in the bitterness of that day, appealed to thousands who had no

patience with balanced reasoning. Conkling played a prominent part in Congress during the Civil War, and now as Senator was especially close to President Grant.

In the rivalry between Fenton and Conkling, Fenton was practically forced to countenance the Liberal Republican movement of 1872, which set up Horace Greeley as a presidential candidate in opposition to Grant. Fenton thus became involved in the rout of the Liberal Republicans; and Conkling became the outstanding director of Republican state policy. He was, however, always a boss of rather unusual type. Whatever his attitude on public affairs, he remained a man with a high sense of personal honor, and a leader who owed his power more to the fear of opponents to clash with his self-willed personality than to wirepulling and underground methods. But, as a sort of satellite to Roscoe Conkling, appeared opportunely the smaller figure of Thomas Collier Platt of Owego, who replaced Fenton in the United States Senate. "Me Too" Platt, as he was known during those years, was the antithesis of Conkling in nearly everything—a farsighted schemer who kept himself in the background as long as possible. But he supplemented his chief beautifully, and on several occasions mapped out the policy on which the pair acted.

With the inauguration of Hayes, a moderate man, sympathetic toward reformers, the position of Conkling became difficult. And it was on the specific question of civil service reform that the conflict between the President and the leader of the Republican machine in New York State came. The movement for civil service reform, to end the orgy of spoils politics both at Washington and in the states, was already gathering power. Its leaders were men of the highest type, but most of them were not professional politicians. In this state, George William Curtis, the scholarly editor of *Harper's Weekly*, was conspicuous. But to an intense partisan like Conkling, such plans seemed

childish and impractical. As boss of the state organization, moreover, he resented all efforts to interfere with the control of patronage.

The effort of President Hayes to interfere with the conduct of the New York Custom House in the interest of greater efficiency and economy resulted therefore in a collision with the leader of the Republican party in New York State. A commission named by Hayes investigated the New York Custom House and, though finding no evidences of dishonesty, reported that its operation was inefficient and in the interest of party spoils. Reorganization and dismissal of many of the employees were recommended. The collector of the port of New York was no less a person than Gen. Chester A. Arthur, one of Conkling's chief lieutenants, aided by the naval officer, Alonzo B. Cornell, chairman of the Republican state committee, national Republican committeeman from New York, later governor of the state, 1880-82. This condition existed in spite of an executive order of President Hayes that Federal civil service officers should take no active part in partisan politics.

Supported by Conkling, however, Arthur and Cornell defied the President. They would not resign; they refused to reorganize the Custom House. Therefore Hayes bravely removed them both. This act, of course, aroused Conkling to fury. He affected, however, to regard the President as merely misguided, and directed the full force of his fury upon George William Curtis as the arch-villain. In a convention of the party at Rochester in September, 1877, he attacked Curtis personally in a speech so savage that it has lived. "When Dr. Johnson," declaimed the embittered boss, "defined patriotism as the last refuge of a scoundrel, he was unconscious of the then undeveloped capacities and uses of the word 'reform.'"

Conkling, as United States Senator, opposed the confirmation by the Senate of the appointees named by the President to

the posts held by Arthur and Cornell, and standing on "senatorial courtesy," succeeded for a time in thwarting the chief executive. But eventually two reformers, E. A. Merritt and Silas W. Burt, were confirmed in their places. This contest left intense bitterness, however. Indeed it was only the beginning of a deeper feud. Conkling and those who stood with him proudly declared themselves "Stalwarts"—Republicans who stood for the old ideas of the party and had no sympathy with the "milk and water" ideas of "Old Granny Hayes." Those who held with the President they called "Half-Breeds." But even in New York President Hayes had no lack of supporters who resented the arrogant methods of Conkling.

Although the war of Stalwart against Half-Breed originated in New York and was fought here with the greatest fury, it influenced the Republican party throughout the nation. In this state Conkling of course was supported by Arthur, Platt and Cornell, but the Half-Breeds rallied under such men as Warner Miller and Judge William H. Robertson. In other states many prominent politicians sympathized with the recognized leader of the G. O. P. in New York. Owing, however, to a bitter personal quarrel between Conkling and the almost equally egotistic James G. Blaine of Maine, the latter gentleman took sides with the Half-Breeds. It was a sad conflict among patriots.

The Half-Breeds, though rather more sympathetic toward reform than the Stalwarts, were still "regular" and believed in government according to party lines. Distinct from both factions stood the true reformers, among whom George William Curtis, Carl Schurz and Henry Ward Beecher were prominent in New York. Most of these men had been Liberal Republicans supporting Horace Greeley against Grant in 1872, and in 1884 they were destined to become "Mugwumps." Upon them the bonds of party loyalty sat lightly. This split, centering always in New York, had the most important results. Though all re-

spected the integrity of President Hayes, it was agreed by the Republican leaders that he should not be again a candidate. Nor did this rather quiescent Ohio statesman desire to make a fight for renomination.

Blaine seemed to be, therefore, the logical Republican candidate. But Conkling was, of course, determined to check the ambition of the odious Half-Breed, who in bitter debate had compared him to "a strutting turkey cock." To bring this about, the Stalwarts rallied about General Grant for a third term, declaring that, as four years had intervened since Grant left the White House, the third-term tradition no longer applied. The reëlection of Grant would have given to Conkling a controlling influence in Republican circles. The Stalwart leader succeeded in inducing the New York State convention to instruct delegates to vote as a unit for Grant. Although the Half-Breeds could not prevent the adoption of this rule, they denied its binding force.

Accordingly, when the Republican National Convention of 1880 was held at Chicago, nineteen Half-Breeds from New York, led by the determined Judge Robertson, by refusing to vote for Grant, split the state delegation. Storm as he would, Conkling was unable to coerce them. As a result, the Stalwarts could not secure a majority of the Convention for Grant and a deadlock ensued. Finally, the delegates named a dark horse, James A. Garfield, who was identified with the Half-Breeds. The Republican leaders were now alarmed lest the vindictive Conkling should desert the party. They accordingly asked him to name the candidate for the vice presidency. With scorn he refused. Nevertheless, as a sop to the discontented Stalwarts, the Convention nominated Gen. Chester A. Arthur, who was thought to have Conkling's favor. This rather strange outcome was destined to give the Empire State another President of the United States.

During the campaign of 1880 the result appeared doubtful, for General Hancock, nominated by the Democrats, was a popular candidate. Conkling, like Achilles of old, sulking in his tent, refused to help the Half-Breeds in their need. The loss of Maine, however, in the preëlection made the Republican situation almost desperate; then at last, through the personal solicitations of General Grant, who represented that his efforts were necessary to save the party, Conkling was induced to put aside his wrath and take the stump. In a whirlwind tour through New York and Ohio, he put forth mighty efforts and no doubt turned many votes. Whether his work did indeed bring about the election of Garfield cannot, of course, be determined. But the great Stalwart had at any rate won high laurels in the conflict.

When James A. Garfield became President, therefore, he was, by all the rules of the game of politics, under heavy obligations to Conkling. Yet Garfield himself was counted with the Half-Breeds and was intimate with Blaine, Conkling's arch enemy. It was a political situation which would have taxed the skill of a Lincoln—and Garfield was no Lincoln. Since the principals do not tell quite the same story, there remains to this day a certain mystery in what took place. It appears that Conkling was given assurance by the President-elect that his interests would be cared for. But immediately afterward the appointment of Blaine as Secretary of State was announced. Not merely was this aggravating to the Stalwart, but it would seem that forthwith Garfield fell under the influence of Blaine's dominating personality.

Conkling desired particularly the portfolio of the Treasury, not indeed for himself, but for a New York Stalwart, and had inferred that he was to have it. Now Garfield gave this post to a western Republican and conceded to New York only the Post Office Department, which went to the Stalwart Thomas L. James, and the ministry to France. Conkling protested fiercely. A little later the nomination of Judge Robertson as collector

of the port of New York was announced. The naming of the Half-Breed leader, who had defied Conkling, was perhaps the hardest blow which the President could have dealt. Conkling's protests had indeed been bitter; but, after all, the Half-Breed President went rather far, considering Conkling's services in the campaign. Now Conkling became furious; and, carrying the fight to the Senate and demanding at least senatorial courtesy, tried to defeat the confirmation of Robertson's appointment. Yet, though aided by "Me Too" Platt, he failed completely; and Robertson became collector of the port. Washington had overridden the New York State Republican organization.

But Conkling and Platt were not yet beaten. Both promptly resigned from the Senate and, appealing to Republicans of their home state, demanded that the legislature at Albany should re-elect them as a rebuke to Garfield. Their action caused the greatest excitement among politicians throughout the state and the nation. And so the "Battle of Albany" was fought between Stalwart and Half-Breed with the greatest fury. Even Vice President Arthur hastened to the scene to give aid to the Stalwarts against the President. Conkling had presumed too far, however, and in the end his machine went down to defeat. After many ballots by the legislature, victory rested with the Half-Breeds, and two of their leaders, Warner Miller and E. G. Lapham, were chosen to the United States Senate. It was an overthrow both spectacular and crushing for the former Republican state leaders. And it had a gruesome aftermath, for a few weeks later, when, in the old Pennsylvania Station in Washington, Guiteau shot down President Garfield, the assassin tried to give a political coloring to his deed by declaring himself a Stalwart and asserting that he had made the Stalwart Arthur, President.

Conkling never again took any active part in politics. Resuming the practice of law in New York City, he disappeared from the view of the general public. His death was due to exposure

in the great blizzard of 1888. Far different was the career of Thomas Collier Platt. Temporarily submerged, this long-headed gentleman simply waited till the storm had passed. Then, aided by the reign of Arthur in Washington, he regained all his former political influence and, indeed, far more than that, for he speedily consolidated his power as state leader and came to wield even more control than had Conkling himself at his highest point.

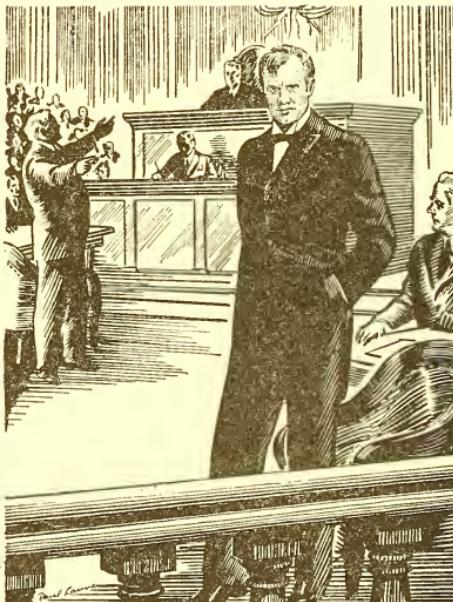
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The bibliographies for Chapters V and VI have been combined, and follow Chapter VI.

STATE POLITICS FROM CLEVELAND TO SULZER

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STATE POLITICS FROM CLEVELAND TO SULZER

PLATT, KELLY AND GROVER CLEVELAND

PLATT was distinctly a boss of the new type. Rather shunning publicity, he did his work in the committee room, in private conferences, and especially in his famous "Sunday School," as the Sabbath gatherings of key Republicans held by him in the "Amen" corner of the old Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York City came to be called. Though disliked by many because of his "gum-shoe" methods, Platt was, even from the time he had manipulated local politics from the back room of his Owego drug store, a wise leader, a good judge of men, and a master wirepuller. As "the Easy Boss," he directed long and successfully the Republican strategy in this state—maker of governors, senators and legislators. And his career might have been still longer but for the rise of the uncontrollable Theodore Roosevelt. During Platt's leadership, however, a significant change was taking place in the sources of power. For it appeared that the boss was himself sinking from the place of independent commander to that of mere distributing agent for interests which supplied the sinews of war. At any rate, Boss Platt in his later years was a special object of attack by the Progressives, whose avowed purpose was to free both government and political parties from the control of big business and to restore them to an awakened people.

Meanwhile, the Stalwart Arthur held sway at Washington as the third President from the Empire State. He made Charles J. Folger Secretary of the Treasury, thus giving to New York the recognition for which Roscoe Conkling had battled. Nevertheless, Arthur as President laid aside old animosities, refused to

proscribe Half-Breeds and tried to heal the breaches in his party. In so doing he showed commendable patriotism, but rather disappointed partisan Stalwarts. His ability proved a pleasant surprise to those who had looked upon "Chet" Arthur as a mere spoils politician and an indolent "sport."

Interesting changes had also occurred in the rival Democratic party in New York State. After the fall of the Tweed Ring, it seemed indeed as if Tammany Hall must be ruined. But an organization consisting of practically all the poorer citizens of New York City was nearly indestructable, and it soon found a deft and strong leader in "Honest John" Kelly. Wisely allying himself with Tilden during the brief spasm of reform, Kelly built up his power as boss and soon proved himself the most astute of all the great chiefs of the Wigwam. Endowed with political insight far beyond Tweed, it was Kelly who made Tammany Hall the disciplined host which he and his successors, Croker and Murphy, so often led to victory.

Born in New York City of a poor Irish family, this talented leader began life as an office boy for the *New York Herald*. But he presently took up the trade of grate-setting and soapstone cutting, establishing his own shop. Meanwhile, he had won the esteem of all by his power with his fists, and added to his popularity by his skill as an amateur actor. He rose to prominence among the volunteer firemen, just as Tweed had done, and incidentally formed a wide acquaintance in political circles. With all the elements of East-Side popularity, he was elected in turn alderman, congressman and sheriff of New York County. Already a political power in the days of Tweed, Kelly was refused recognition by the ring and drifted into opposition. He then went abroad, thus fortunately being removed from connection with Tweed's disgrace. Kelly spent some time in the Holy Land, and it was reported that he contemplated entering a religious order. But instead he returned to his native city at just the time when

his undoubted talents found their reward. It is interesting to note that Kelly felt the danger of loquacity in politics and was the first "silent" leader of Tammany Hall, setting that example of grim taciturnity which was followed by both Croker and Murphy.

In his earlier days as boss, Kelly succeeded in associating with Tammany, at least in name, some of the prominent citizens of New York, among them Tilden, Seymour, Sanford E. Church, August Belmont and Abram S. Hewitt. And although later he opposed both Tilden and Grover Cleveland, Kelly was successful in keeping Tammany free from grosser scandals during his leadership. This was no small political achievement; and however much his foes might cast doubt upon his sincerity, it gives a real meaning to the nickname which he himself so cherished. While the scandal of Jacob Sharp, veteran corruptionist, who bribed the board of aldermen to give him a franchise for the Broadway Car Line, occurred in Kelly's time, it is not to be traced to the activities of the Tammany organization. Meanwhile, in succession to Horatio Seymour and Samuel J. Tilden, had appeared on the Democratic horizon a new luminary, Grover Cleveland.

Born at Caldwell, New Jersey, in 1837, the fifth child of a Presbyterian clergyman, Stephen Grover Cleveland, as he was christened, was taken four years later to Fayetteville, Onondaga County, New York. Here he spent his boyhood, received scanty schooling and clerked in a country store. Indeed the early life of Cleveland was strangely without those romantic incidents which are supposed to mark the youth of a great man. He never worked on a farm; he never split rails nor drove mules on a tow-path. He did not even give signs of unusual precocity, though he early gave proof of physical strength and combativeness. The home influence, as befitted a minister's family, was strict, puritanical, but pure and earnest. Cleveland was too poor to enter

Hamilton College as he had wished, and could remain for only a short time in the preparatory academy at Clinton, New York.

Cleveland passed a year in New York City as teacher in the School for the Blind. Then, like so many of his generation, he set out for the West to make his fortune. He got only to Buffalo. Here he was befriended by a maternal uncle, Lewis Allen, known as a successful cattle-breeder. He worked on his uncle's shorthorn herd book. But Mr. Allen soon got him a place in the law office of a well-established Buffalo firm. After diligent preparation, Cleveland was admitted to the bar, and, like so many successful American statesmen, found through the law entrance to the congenial field of politics. Meanwhile Buffalo had made him over into a somewhat convivial person who, between periods of intense mental application, sang joyously with his friends in beer saloons and gained sufficient reputation with his fists to be known as "Big Steve."

After serving as assistant district attorney, he was elected sheriff of Erie County on the Democratic ticket and, while disappointing some of his political backers, made a strong record for honesty and firmness in an office which furnished many temptations. In consequence, he was elected mayor of his adopted city, receiving the support of many independent voters, as well as those of his own political faith. As Buffalo's "veto mayor," he again stood stubbornly against entrenched graft and corruption. His reward was the Democratic nomination for the governorship of New York State in 1882; and he was triumphantly elected over Charles J. Folger, who was backed by the full power of Arthur's administration in Washington. In Albany, Cleveland again set a high standard of efficiency and integrity, recalling the days of Tilden. But always forthright and independent, he incurred the hostility of "Honest John" Kelly and Tammany Hall. This feud with Tammany followed him for the rest of his career.

When, in 1884, the Republican party nominated the spectacular, but not immaculate, James G. Blaine, for the presidency, the Democrats naturally looked for a candidate who would appeal to the independent reform element and who might carry the crucial state of New York. The situation clearly designated Cleveland and with every evidence of enthusiasm he was nominated by his party on the second ballot. The presidential campaign of 1884 is of course a classic in American political history. It was marked by the revolt from their party of the Independent Republicans, now called Mugwumps. Such leading citizens as Curtis, Schurz, Beecher, President Eliot of Harvard, and such newspapers as the *New York Times* could not support a candidate whose ethical standards seemed so doubtful as those of Blaine. Threatened by defeat, the partisans of the G. O. P. turned in fury on the Mugwumps, and the campaign became an orgy of personal abuse. Since Cleveland's public record defied all assault, the Republicans attacked his private life as the only means of injuring him. The outcome of the struggle remained doubtful to the end.

And it is probable that it was decided by the absurd incident of the three "R's," the unhappy slip of the tongue of a Presbyterian clergyman in welcoming Blaine to New York City. His identification of the Democracy with "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" insulted every Irish-American and gave Cleveland many Tammany votes which he would otherwise have lost. The outcome was the election of the first Democratic President since the Civil War. But so close was the result that it was several days before the decision was positively known. Cleveland carried New York by hardly more than a thousand votes and it required a recount to decide. If New York had gone for Blaine, he would have been President. During the interval, while the outcome quivered in the balance, many of the scenes of the Hayes-Tilden election were reënacted, first one party and then

the other celebrating supposed victory. Interesting as are the events of Cleveland's administrations, with their bitterly fought issues, they belong rather to national than to state history. Even yet there are wide differences of opinion as to Cleveland's policies. But at least no one can fairly deny that he brought honor to his state by showing rare independence and honesty of purpose.

When Cleveland resigned the governorship of New York he was succeeded by Lieut. Gov. David Bennett Hill of Elmira. Thus emerged another political personality of unusual ability. Bred to the law, Hill had early become influential in local politics and had already been city attorney and mayor of Elmira. Now as governor, he made an impression as a vigorous, capable and honorable administrator, deeper even than that of Cleveland. He was reelected in 1885 and 1888. But unlike his predecessor, "Dave" Hill was a strict party man, the close friend and ally of Tammany Hall, and his favorite boast was "I am a Democrat." Thus speedily he became, with the support of Richard Croker, now leader of Tammany Hall, the greatest power in the upstate Democracy, and about him rallied the elements which opposed Cleveland. Both in 1888 and 1892 strong efforts were made by Hill's supporters to substitute him for Cleveland as the national candidate of the Democracy. In 1892, by a political trick, the State Democratic convention was secured for Hill, and the votes of New York's delegates to the National Convention pledged to him. But Cleveland had too strong a hold on the Democrats of other states, and in both cases the Hill boom met overwhelming defeat.

In January, 1891, however, Hill was chosen to the United States Senate, though he continued to serve as governor to the end of the year; in the Senate his abilities soon made themselves felt. At first he was not in accord with the President; but in the end, owing to the rise of the Free Silver agitation in the West and South, he became one of the bulwarks of the conservative eastern

Democracy. In the Democratic National Convention of 1896 at Chicago, Hill led the Gold Democrats in their struggle against William Jennings Bryan and his doctrines. Although, with the cause he represented, he went down to temporary defeat, Senator Hill on this occasion displayed remarkable determination and skill.

CROKER, THE LEXOW INVESTIGATION AND ROOSEVELT

Meanwhile, in New York State had occurred several other political incidents which cannot be passed over without a few words. In 1885, "Honest John" Kelly, the great chief of Tammany Hall, died, to be succeeded by the less astute Richard Croker. Croker was still, however, a determined leader, who managed to keep the power of the boss virtually intact. At the very beginning of his career as boss, the rule of Tammany was threatened by the popularity of Henry George, the economist and editor. In 1886, this friend of the people came forward as a candidate for mayor at the head of an independent movement called the "United Labor Party." Henry George appealed strongly to the people of the East Side, and the Tammany Tiger, for almost the first time, saw itself threatened in its own lair. The Republicans had as their candidate Theodore Roosevelt, who was already popular. Thus threatened, Croker put forward Abram S. Hewitt, a millionaire of high personal character and widely known. After a fierce conflict, Hewitt was successful, though by a narrow margin. But never again was the control of Tammany quite so complete as in the old days. Henry George founded the *Standard* and continued his agitation, though mainly along nonpolitical lines. Hewitt as mayor proved independent, but also untactful. By refusing to review the St. Patrick's Day parade, he gave offense to many of his constituents, and in consequence Croker replaced him by Hugh J. Grant.

Somewhat later, attention was again directed to New York

City by the famous "Lexow Investigation," which confirmed superficial minds in the idea that the nation's metropolis was the sink of all iniquity. There had long been in New York City an organization called the Society for the Prevention of Crime, but though a force for good, it had accomplished nothing of account. Now, in 1892, the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst became its leader. Parkhurst was a sensational preacher, but a determined and brave man. Few realized the circumstances with which he had to cope, for vice and crime in New York, as in many great cities, were by no means sporadic outbursts of the criminal class; such things as immorality, gambling and pool-selling were highly organized forms of business in which millions of dollars were invested, often by men of great influence. But Parkhurst's method of attack was new. So long as the Society had worked with the police, it accomplished little. Parkhurst made the remarkable discovery that the police themselves were the great supporters of vice and crime. Accordingly, he denounced the police administration from his pulpit with the greatest violence. There was a sensation and demand for proof. And Parkhurst promptly produced abundant evidence, gathered by his personal work and that of his agents.

Accordingly, the New York Chamber of Commerce asked the state legislature for a full investigation, and that was made by the Lexow Committee, which sat for nearly a year (1894). Yet there was much opposition, some of it well meaning. Many objected to the sensationalism of Parkhurst, and there was the old feeling of hostility on the part of the city to interference from Albany. Many believed that "hayseed" legislators were incompetent to examine metropolitan conditions. But the investigation was a success, in that it revealed conditions very fully. This result was due largely to the ability and courage of the committee's counsel, John W. Goff, himself an Irish Catholic. One of the features of the proceedings was the testi-

mony of Boss Richard Croker, whose blunt statements did not intentionally further the efforts for reform.

Nevertheless, a great system of organized police graft was exposed. Keepers of disorderly houses, saloon keepers, thieves, gamblers and bad characters of all kinds contributed regularly to the police for protection. All who would not pay got into trouble, and even fruit vendors and newsdealers were laid under contribution. The police themselves, on the other hand, had to pay regular amounts to those "higher up" for the territories they worked, and promotion could be had only by purchase. It was quite evident that many of the patrolmen wished to be honest, but they were victims of the system.

A wave of indignation, like that of Tweed's day, swept over the city and a nonpartisan, anti-Tammany reform movement, directed by an organization called the Citizen's Union, immediately took form. In the municipal election of 1894, the reformers swept the city and made William L. Strong mayor, while Levi P. Morton was chosen governor (1895-96). The movement, however, ran through the usual cycle of reforms. Strong proved to be honorable and fearless, but did not succeed in winning the confidence of the people, for there are thousands to whom a touch of humanity means more even than the application of "strict business principles" to municipal administration, and at the next election Tammany recovered its power. Nevertheless, in these waves of reform there was some permanent gain for decency.

To these years also belongs the creation of Greater New York. The movement for the consolidation of New York, Brooklyn, Long Island City and Staten Island, and the surrounding districts, had much to commend it to the average citizen of the 1890s. It appealed to the American love of big things and would, moreover, keep New York from fear of rivalry by rapidly growing Chicago. It was hoped that it might lead to better

government by attracting men of higher caliber to municipal service, and by securing better coöperation among communities which had so much in common. The possibility of savings in government, which would allow of reductions in taxes, was, however, the argument which seems to have appealed most widely. Such opposition as appeared was based mainly upon local patriotism, especially in Brooklyn.

A state act creating Greater New York went into effect May, 1896, under Gov. Levi P. Morton, and a commission was provided to draft its charter. In addition to the mayors of New York, Brooklyn, Long Island City, and other persons ex officio, nine commissioners were named by the governor. Among them were Seth Low and B. F. Tracy. The charter was submitted to the legislature in February, 1897, and became law on May 4 of that year. In spite of the high character of the commission, however, the task was too novel to be solved all at once. It was believed that the administration of so great a city could not be carried on by a centralized system, and it was observed that London and Paris were both divided into local government areas of various kinds. So an interesting sort of Federal system was devised, resting largely on the creation of the five boroughs. This idea appealed to the public as being like the government of the United States. Nevertheless, many features proved unworkable, and amendments and changes had to be made frequently—at first almost every year, including two revisions of a general nature. In the long run, the results have probably justified the system, but the success has not been so impressive as to lead many other great American municipalities to follow the example of the metropolis. Boston, for example, clings tenaciously to the opposite system of separate suburban municipalities.

And now while Tammany Hall and the Citizen's Union were contending for the control of the greater city, there was shaping itself another great career for one of the sons of the Empire

State. In 1858 there was born in New York City, Theodore Roosevelt. On his father's side he was of Knickerbocker Dutch stock, but his mother was a Georgian, and his uncle was that very Confederate naval agent who had done such active work abroad in fitting out cruisers and securing other aid for the revolted South. Roosevelt had every advantage of wealth and education. Enjoying the wise oversight of an able father, his early interest lay in physical science, particularly that of the "faunal naturalist." He was educated at Harvard, where his scholarship was good enough to win Phi Beta Kappa. Roosevelt was inclined to be sickly in youth, but within him lay tremendous yearning for physical activity and athletic prowess, and an experience in ranching in Montana developed him into a tireless person of powerful physique. Yet, although devoted to riding, shooting, hunting, wrestling, boxing, tennis and nearly every exercise in which a man wearing glasses could engage, he remained both scientist and scholar. His achievements in the field of history, for example, entitle him to a worthy place among contemporary writers.

Naturally drawn to public life, Theodore Roosevelt entered the maelstrom of affairs in his native city. Always inclined toward reforms, he nevertheless felt that his best work could be done within the lines of the Republican party. Therefore, his early career was largely one of struggle against Tammany. It has been said that he opposed the methods of Tammany with an equally rough and noisy virtue. And always he knew instinctively how to interest the public in his doings. Elected to the state Assembly, he served three terms with vigor and credit. In 1889 he was named by President Harrison to his first important national post — that of Civil Service Commissioner. He did an important work in reviving the activities of the commission and in turning public opinion against the specious arguments of the spoilsmen. In his eagerness, he even took the stump and in vigor-

ous, if not always classic, phrase carried the battle to his opponents.

Next as police commissioner of New York City on appointment by Mayor Strong, he waged effective war against the graft and abuses which were uncovered by the Lexow Investigation. And as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under McKinley's administration, he helped prepare the navy for the Spanish War. But yearning as a young man for greater activity, he resigned this important post and raised the celebrated First United States Volunteer Cavalry (Rough Riders), to take personal part in the fray. At San Juan Hill he fought with courage, even if report did exaggerate somewhat the value of his leadership, and returned to find himself the most popular American of the day.

Elected governor of New York in 1898, Roosevelt applied himself with characteristic energy to the problems which always confront the pilot at Albany, showing at the same time an independence of Boss Platt and the interests he represented, which was not pleasing to that astute statesman. At the approach of the presidential campaign of 1900, therefore, the "Easy Boss" encouraged, if he did not actually start, the demand that Roosevelt should strengthen the Republican ticket by running for the vice presidency. The "Colonel" had no desire to be thus promoted to a post of rather inactive honor, but the idea did appeal to thousands of patriotic Republicans; and in the end Roosevelt was practically forced to accept the nomination. Once enlisted, he plunged with great determination into the campaign, speaking with characteristic vigor, and contributing materially to the defeat of Bryan.

The good fortune of Roosevelt held, for in a few weeks the bullet of an assassin stuck down McKinley, making him the President of the United States. The history of Roosevelt's administration is national, rather than state, history, though it brought as an important reaction in New York the eventual

elimination of the over-clever Platt as state leader. But these developments belong to the new century. It was already clear that Roosevelt's régime at Washington would be one of interest and activity, and that the viewpoint of New York, as embodied in her remarkable son, would play a leading part in what was to transpire.

REPUBLICAN ECONOMY AND REFORMS

The fifteen years following the governorship of Theodore Roosevelt witnessed seven men in the chair of the chief executive of the state — four Republicans: Odell, Higgins, Hughes and White; and three Democrats: Dix, Sulzer and Glynn.

In 1900, Platt, as we have seen, clarified the situation in New York by having Roosevelt given second place on the national Republican ticket. This left the state field clear so that at the Republican state convention Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., was unanimously nominated for governor. As a successful business man of Newburgh, he had served a term in Congress and was chairman of the Republican state committee when Roosevelt, as the gubernatorial candidate, led a forlorn party hope to victory in 1898. Odell conducted his own campaign, making but few speeches, and defeated John B. Stanchfield by a vote of 804,859 to 693,733. Timothy L. Woodruff of Brooklyn was elected lieutenant governor. "The Empire is at peace," commented Platt.

Governor Odell served two terms, from 1901 to 1904. During his first term the legislature almost embarrassed him by its pronounced Republican complexion. "Economy" was the watchword of his administration, yet the state authorized the spending of \$101,000,000 on the conversion of the Erie Canal into the Barge Canal. In the interest of retrenchment, the "counsel to the Governor" with a \$5,000 salary was dispensed with. To increase the efficiency of the state government, as well as to save money, Governor Odell recommended the consolida-

tion of state departments, and the unification of several boards under the Forest, Fish and Game Commission. The creation of the department of labor was indicative of the awakening of a consciousness of social obligations. The advocacy of good roads, while primarily economic, also had implications of an improved society. To raise funds indirect taxation was exploited, and state finance received conspicuous attention. When Platt sought to undo Roosevelt's reform work in New York City by a restoration of the rotten old police system, Odell opposed the plan, but finally agreed on a doubtful compromise. As the fusion champion of civic reform Seth Low, president of Columbia University, in 1901 defeated the Tammany candidate for mayor of New York City. And Richard Croker was succeeded as the head of Tammany by Charles F. Murphy.

In 1902, so satisfied were the Republicans with his rule that no opposition appeared against Odell's renomination. His advocacy of the abolition of direct taxes insured his reëlection. Among the Democrats, Hill and McLoughlin strove for state leadership. Hill had become the advocate of Populist schemes such as the nationalization of mines, and tried in vain to induce Judge Alton B. Parker to run for governor, Bird S. Coler being the nominee finally accepted. Odell won over Coler by a plurality of only 9,752. During his second term, Odell was less and less under Platt's thumb. Both were lukewarm toward Roosevelt's nomination for the presidency, but rejoiced in his triumph over the Democrat candidate, Judge Alton B. Parker of Kingston.

In 1904, the political situation was favorable to the continuation of Republican rule in Albany as it was certain to continue at Washington. Odell had made a creditable record during his four years of office, and the Republican legislature still held the popular confidence. As candidate for governor to succeed Odell, Frank Wayland Higgins of Olean was nominated by the Re-

publicans at their state convention at Saratoga. With a wide and successful business experience, he became state senator in 1894, was conspicuous in all public financial measures, and was lieutenant governor during Odell's second term. He was elected by a large plurality of 80,560 votes over his Democratic rival, D. Cady Herrick, in a campaign of bitter misrepresentations. Odell remained in control of the Republican party, although Platt was permitted to continue Chauncey M. Depew as United States Senator.

Frank W. Higgins was the fourth man from western New York to be honored with the governorship. Backed by President Roosevelt, Higgins locked horns with Odell over the speakership in 1906, when his candidate, James W. Wadsworth, Jr., was chosen. Otherwise there was a pronounced "harmony of feeling" in the state government under Higgins' leadership. He was an enlightened ruler who had a genuine sentiment for reform as well as for an efficient and economic administration, which left in the state treasury a surplus of over \$11,000,000. Projects for an adequate supply of good water for the metropolis and the preservation of state forests and Niagara Falls received his cordial assistance.

Election reforms "to guard the ballot box that an honest expression by the voters can be obtained" were advocated in his first message to the legislature. Appropriations for good roads, but "modest in amount," were approved. Governor Higgins strongly recommended the use of public funds to preserve places of scenic and historic value, and encouraged the observance of the Hudson-Fulton anniversaries.

The practical, humanitarian character of Governor Higgins' reform program was manifested in searching investigations of the cost of gas and electricity sold to the public by private corporations, and of the conduct of life insurance companies. In special messages in 1905 he urged legislation to permit New

York City to utilize its water supply for generating electricity for the municipality; to regulate the price of electricity in New York City; and to appoint a commission to fix the price of gas and electricity supplied by private corporations. He also sought an amendment to New York's charter so that the city might inspect and test the illuminating gas, and regulate its quality. In his second message in 1906 he intimated that public service companies were guilty of extortion in charging \$1.25 per thousand cubic feet for gas, and stated that the investigation made in New York City by a legislative committee, with Charles Evans Hughes acting as counsel, recommended an 80-cent rate. He strongly demanded remedial legislation, not only for the city, but also for upstate communities.

In his inaugural, Governor Higgins said that the investigation of insurance companies, whose volume of business exceeded \$37,000,000,000, was a duty which the state owed its citizens in order to protect them against extortion or fraud. In July, 1905, the governor convened the legislature in a special session in order to appoint a joint committee to investigate life insurance companies. "Unfortunate scandals," he said, grew out of internal dissensions in the Equitable Life. A prompt revision of the insurance law was found to be necessary, after a careful investigation had been made. The joint body known as the Armstrong Committee was named, and engaged Hughes as counsel. The governor's message in 1906 outlined the findings of the committee. As a result of the searching examination made, the Armstrong Committee in April, 1906, had the insurance law amended. Governor Higgins warmly applauded the results of the committee's work and signed the amended law. This reform brought prominently before the public the work of Charles Evans Hughes, who had unearthed the reprehensible use of insurance funds for corrupt political ends.

Governor Higgins proved to be a wise, honest and fearless

executive. Even the Democratic *World* said, "The record of the present Legislature is the best that this political generation has known." He had won the respect of the Republican leaders and might have been renominated, but on account of poor health refused. It was his wish to have Lieut. Gov. M. Linn Bruce succeed him, but Roosevelt demanded Hughes.

Furthermore Hughes' brilliant, constructive work in the investigation of gas and electricity rates, of life insurance companies, and of coal companies, had attracted wide attention and made him a popular candidate for public office. He declined the Republican nomination for mayor of New York City for "a paramount public duty."

When the Republican state convention met in Saratoga, Hughes was nominated by acclamation. He accepted the honor, "without pledge other than to do my duty according to my conscience." If elected governor, he promised that his administration would be "free from taint of bossism or of servitude to any private interest." In the campaign against the Democratic nominee, William R. Hearst, he made "decent government" the vital issue and promised the people honest, efficient and economical rule. He made a state-wide, vigorous campaign and defeated his opponent by a plurality of 57,897—the only candidate on the Republican state ticket to be elected. Hearst had the support of the Independence League and Tammany, as well as of the Democratic party, but could not overcome the popularity of the man who had labored so hard in the people's interests.

Governor Hughes carried out his promise to serve the people rather than his party. Proof of this policy was seen in the reorganization of two public service commissions; in his excellent official appointments; in his refusal to benefit by Federal patronage; and in the legislation he advocated. His determination to be his own master and his refusal to take sides in factional controversies offended Odell and Roosevelt. Vindication of his course

came in the effort to nominate him for President in 1908 and in his renomination for governor on his excellent record. He won by a larger vote than in 1906, over Lieut. Gov. L. S. Chanler, Democrat, and C. J. Shearn, Independent.

In the recent history of the Empire State, the four years of Hughes' administration are conspicuous chiefly for political and social reforms. In his first message to the legislature, he advocated the building of more good roads; recommended that the amount a candidate might spend to procure his election should be limited; urged the amendment of the primary election law so as to obviate corrupt practices; advised the prompt improvement of the insurance law; asked for the creation of a new public service commission to regulate railroads, gas and electricity; sought to improve transportation in Greater New York; and favored the protection of child labor, pure food, forest preserves and state control of water power. That was a rather startling program, to which was added in 1908 an attack on race-track gambling and measures for public health.

Governor Hughes proved to be too aggressively progressive for his day, and hence his program was viewed with suspicion by both his own party and his political opponents. The *New York World* explained: "Without waiting to educate the voters, Governor Hughes tossed his political idealism into the scales against the organizations of both parties and was overbalanced." The bipartisan group, led by John Raines, and dubbed the "Black Horse Cavalry," opposed the reforms urged by the governor. The death of Senator Raines brought to the front Senator Jotham Allds as leader of the antireform bloc, who, however, was soon forced to resign and was replaced by another foe of reform, George H. Cobb.

Although Hughes failed to bring all heads of departments under the control of the governor, he did win in 1909 in his determination to reorganize the insurance department. His ef-

fort for a direct primary bill had the full support of Roosevelt, but was defeated also by a combination of Republicans with Democrats. Thus Governor Hughes held up before the eyes of the people of New York a splendid vision of an improved state government, but the actual accomplishments were few. If he could not, by affirmative legislation, obtain the enactment of forward-looking measures, through the veto he checked a large number of detrimental bills. Few governors studied bills more intelligently or passed judgment on them more wisely than did Governor Hughes in the years 1907-10. With this effective weapon, he struck back at his political foes. Invisible government was well in abeyance during his administration.

Governor Hughes resigned his office in October, 1910, to accept an appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States, and was succeeded by Lieut. Gov. Horace White of Syracuse, who filled out the term.

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS AND IMPEACHMENT

Former President Roosevelt no longer had a firm grip on his party in New York State. In 1910 he lost the temporary chairmanship of the Republican state convention to Vice President Sherman by a vote of 20 to 15 in the state committee. It was rumored that Taft used his influence against Roosevelt, but this Taft denied. A simpler and truer explanation was that Roosevelt's "New Nationalism" and his attack on political bosses and party subservience to "special interests" was too advanced for the minor leaders of his party. When the Republican state convention met, however, Roosevelt's followers presented his name from the floor and he was chosen over Sherman by a vote of 561 to 445. Elihu Root served as permanent chairman.

Roosevelt's choice for governor was Henry L. Stimson, who was nominated on the first ballot. Edward Schoenbeck was the choice for second place on the ticket. Wadsworth attempted to

prevent an indorsement of Hughes' administration, but failed by a vote of 610 to 403.

The Democrats had been out of office for fifteen years. The best men in the party held a meeting at Saratoga in September, 1909, to which Tammany, then in disrepute, was not invited. The reform element organized the Democratic League, preparatory to the election of 1910. John A. Dix became chairman of the Democratic state committee and helped to reorganize Tammany, as well as to unite all upstate Democratic leaders, in an effort to win the election. At the Democratic state convention held in October at Rochester, he was nominated for governor after Mayor Gaynor refused to head the ticket. The most significant planks in the platform were direct primaries and a demand for home rule for cities. As a business man, Dix promised a businesslike administration if elected.

The campaign was an exciting one, with Roosevelt the most picturesque figure in it. Many conservative Republicans voted against Roosevelt, rather than against Stimson. The outcome was a vote of 689,700 for Dix and 622,299 for Stimson. Not only had the Democrats chosen a governor, but a legislature as well. Among the Democrats sent to the state Senate was the youthful Franklin D. Roosevelt who became a member of the committees on railways, canals and agriculture. Times were changing as Hill and Platt both passed off the stage of life.

The reform elements looked confidently to Dix for an enlightened rule. Tammany sought to elect William F. Sheehan to succeed Depew as United States Senator, but Murphy had to compromise on J. A. O'Gorman. This fight, together with the Capitol fire, delayed the governor's program. "It begins to look," the *Times* remarked in February, 1911, "as if there was nobody in the State quite so careless about the success and the reputation of Governor Dix's administration as the Governor himself." The recommendations included the abolition of

the highway commission and the state fair commission, local control of cities, primaries and direct nominations, an income tax, popular election of United States Senators, and general laws to replace special legislation.

To these recommendations Governor Dix added, in his message of 1912, workmen's compensation and improvement of labor laws, factory investigation, civil service, conservation of natural resources, greater efficiency in local government, the reorganization and taxation of corporations, elimination of grade crossings, and new state buildings. Altogether, these measures surpassed in social legislation anything hitherto set forth by any governor, but alas! Dix was not the man to see them executed.

The realization of this program was hampered further by the return of a Republican legislature in the election of 1911. Among the assemblymen was George R. Lunn, a Socialist, the first representative of that party to take a seat in the Assembly. Dix proved a disappointment to his own party and was not rewarded with a second term.

The conservative Republicans, whose indifference had been a factor in the victory of Governor Dix, now declared that Theodore Roosevelt was eliminated as a political leader. This did not prove to be the case, however, for the insurgents, mostly young men, within the party turned away from President Taft's leadership and looked to Roosevelt for guidance. When the presidential election of 1912 approached Progressives from twenty-four states met to urge him to become a candidate for the nomination. He promised to abide by the expression of preference shown in the primaries and issued his "Charter of Democracy." Nine out of the thirteen states employing the primary favored him. When he reached the Republican National Convention at Chicago on June 15, he said that he felt like "a bull moose." On the plea of fraud in denying most of

the contested seats to Progressive delegates the supporters of Roosevelt on his advice withdrew from the Convention and President Taft was renominated by the regulars. The Democrats nominated Woodrow Wilson, a liberal in politics.

The day after the adjournment of the Republican National Convention, the Roosevelt men in a mass meeting resolved to form a new party which came to have the name Progressive or "Bull Moose." At an enthusiastic National Convention held in Chicago on August 7, Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for president and Hiram W. Johnson for vice president.

In the three-cornered campaign which followed, Roosevelt was bitterly assailed by the Taft Republicans and Democrats alike. The lively appeal to the electorate prior to October 14, when Roosevelt was shot, but not badly injured, in Milwaukee, resulted in a smashing victory for Wilson who received 435 electoral votes to Roosevelt's 88 and Taft's 8. In the Empire State where the campaign was conducted with more than ordinary aggressiveness, Wilson received 655,475 votes, Taft 455,-428, Roosevelt 390,021 and Debs, the Socialist candidate, 63,-381. Roosevelt hurried off to the Brazilian wilderness.

In 1912 the gubernatorial contest was overshadowed by the national situation. The rival candidates for governor were Job E. Hedges, Republican; William Sulzer, Democrat; Oscar Straus, Progressive; Charles E. Russell, Socialist; T. A. MacNicholl, Prohibitionist; and John Hall, Socialist Laborite. Sulzer won with 649,559 votes to Hedges' 444,105. Straus polled 393,183 votes, Russell 56,917, MacNicholl 18,990 and Hall 4,461. Evidently had the support given to Straus gone to Hedges, Sulzer would have been defeated. The Democrats won 103 seats in the Assembly, the Progressives had 4 and the regular Republicans the remainder. The Senate was also Democratic. Alfred E. Smith, in his thirtieth year, with ten years of public service behind him, was chosen speaker of the Assembly; and

Senator Robert F. Wagner was temporary president of the Senate.

Governor Sulzer, just past fifty, was a successful lawyer, who had enjoyed political office since 1889, when he went to the Assembly, where he was speaker in 1893. He was a member of Congress for eighteen years. He came to the office of governor with a worthy record of accomplishment for social, economic and political reforms, and apparently had the backing of Tammany under "Chief" Charles Murphy. Rough, outspoken and informal, he boasted that the door to the executive office would be open to high and low, rich and poor, white or black—"I am a Democrat and must treat all alike." On inauguration day he walked from the "Peoples' House" to the Capitol and took the oath of office without any display other than the presence of 10,000 cheering citizens.

I am free . . . and shall remain free. . . . No influence controls me but the dictates of my conscience [he said, taking the oath of office]. Whatever I do as Governor will always be open to all and above board. . . . I shall promise little. . . . An ounce of performance is worth a ton of promise. . . . I grasp the opportunity . . . to correct every existing abuse.

Sulzer's message to the legislature urged the election of United States Senators by the people, woman suffrage, direct primaries, better laws for workers and children, improved civil service, aid to agriculture, good roads, home rule, and a committee of inquiry into state expenditures. This message was widely commented on and applauded by citizens generally. In a special message he asked for the reform of the stock exchanges.

The committee of inquiry reported a deplorable condition: a wasteful lack of system in the state departments, inefficiency, and graft. To remedy the evils, the committee proposed the creation of a department of efficiency and economy, a board

of estimate, a board of contract and supply, and an increase in the power of the comptroller to audit accounts. The measures were indorsed by the governor. In June, 1913, Sulzer asserted that during the previous three years \$50,000,000 of the people's money had been wasted or stolen. A special commission was appointed to study the problems of public health. Its findings were approved, and remedial legislation called for by Governor Sulzer.

At a complimentary dinner in New York City on February 8, the governor said he was working at his job eighteen out of twenty-four hours, and again asserted his determination to be free. The *Red Book* of 1913 stated "Mr. Sulzer is making good as the Governor of the people, and is courageously meeting the expectations and the sanguine predictions of his true friends."

This apparently auspicious beginning was suddenly clouded by an open quarrel between the man who had declared his independence and the man who meant to use him as a rubber stamp. The Tammany "Chief," Charles F. Murphy, according to Governor Sulzer, first tried to bribe and then to bully him into the acceptance of Murphy's appointees and crooked policies. Before his inauguration, Murphy offered to supply Sulzer with enough money to pay his debts and to take things easy while governor. After January 1, 1913, Murphy demanded a pledge that good Tammany men would be retained in offices and others appointed. When the investigations which Sulzer set on foot disclosed graft and loose business methods in the state architect's office, he was ordered by the "Chief" not to dismiss the state architect, but nevertheless insisted upon his resignation. The state superintendent of highways was removed for a similar reason, and Sulzer refused to appoint Murphy's candidate. Murphy then threatened to wreck his administration. "I am the Governor," said Sulzer, "and I am going to be the Governor." "You may be the Governor," retorted Murphy, "but

I have got the Legislature, and the Legislature controls the Governor, and if you don't do what I tell you to do, I will throw you out of office." Neither one of these two rugged and determined men would compromise. The break came on April 13, when Sulzer warned Murphy that the latter "would wreck the party if he persisted in shielding grafters and in violating platform pledges," and Murphy "retorted that Sulzer was an ingrate, whom he would disgrace and destroy." Hence Murphy ordered impeachment proceedings instituted against the governor. His control at Albany was sufficient to force vindictive action. Discouraged and fearful, Governor Sulzer actually wrote out his resignation in April; but after reflection and on the advice of friends, he decided to fight for his political life.

On July 15, the Frawley committee was appointed to inquire into Sulzer's campaign funds and reported that he had failed to report them accurately. On August 13, by a vote of 79 to 45, the Assembly presented to the Senate eight articles of impeachment and the court of impeachment, consisting of the Senate and judges of the court of appeals, tried him at Albany, September 18, 1913. The chief counsel for the Assembly was Alton B. Parker, and for Governor Sulzer, D. Cady Herrick. Sulzer did not appear in his own behalf. He was convicted on three of the eight charges, namely: (1) By a vote of 39 to 18, that he filed a false account of his campaign funds; (2) by the same vote, that he was guilty of perjury; and (3) by a vote of 43 to 14, that he committed a misdemeanor in suppressing evidence. The proceedings of the trial fill two large volumes. Chief Justice Edgar M. Cullen, who presided, voted to acquit him on every charge because the alleged acts had been committed before he became governor; but after the court's decision, he, as presiding judge, on the morning of October 17, 1913, announced the removal of William Sulzer as governor of New York State.

For the first time, a governor of New York had been im-

peached and convicted. Public opinion was divided, but general sympathy seemed to be with the deposed chief executive. On the night following his removal, a group of 8,000 or 10,000 persons in Albany presented him with a loving cup with the inscription

In loving remembrance of duties well performed. A martyr to the cause of honest government.

The sixth Assembly district of New York City elected him assemblyman by a huge majority. His speeches did much to defeat Tammany in the state campaign of 1913 and to elect John Purroy Mitchel mayor. Tammany had wreaked its vengeance on an intractable governor, at the price of the loss of the legislature and the control of its own home city.

Martin H. Glynn, congressman, comptroller and successful editor, had come into the office of lieutenant governor with Sulzer. He became acting governor in August, and governor by succession on October 17. It was his duty as acting governor to recommend an appropriation to pay the expenses of the impeachment trial. As governor, he urged the reform of stock transactions, workmen's compulsory compensation, ballot reform, direct primaries, the continuation of a court of inquiry into state government and finance, and the revision of the state constitution. He found a Republican Assembly more tractable than Sulzer had found a Tammany one. The primary bill passed the legislature in 1914 and became law, as did a reform of the ballot. Under the new primary law, Glynn obtained the Democratic nomination for governor, but was defeated by a majority of 145,432 by Charles S. Whitman, Republican, whose excellent work as district attorney for New York County had centered public attention on him. The Progressives nominated Frederick M. Davenport over former Governor Sulzer, whom Davenport assailed as "a political and moral bankrupt." The Prohibitionists

and Americans, however, put Sulzer at the head of their tickets and he polled over 79,000 more votes than Davenport. But party issues were soon to be overshadowed by the exciting events of the World War.

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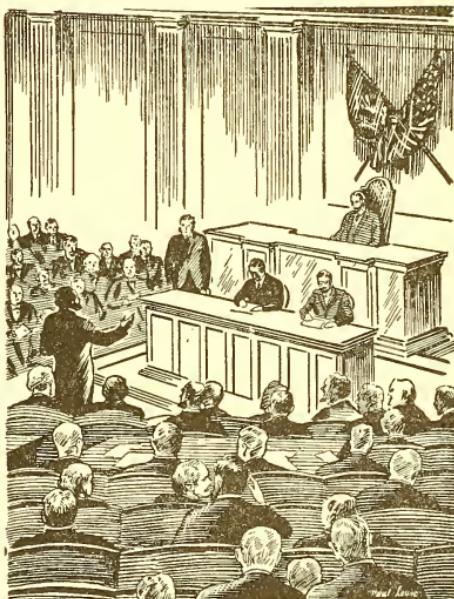
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CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, 1867-1915

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CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, 1867-1915

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1867

THE fifty years from the calling of the fourth constitutional convention in 1867 to the end of the convention of 1915 might well be called the second formative period in the government of the state. It was during these years that the foundations of the present government of the Empire State were laid. In the three constitutional conventions of 1867, 1894 and 1915, the great political battles of the period were waged. Although it is true that only the convention of 1894 succeeded in getting the people to adopt a constitution, nevertheless the influence of the proposals was so great that following 1869 changes were made in the state government by amendment; and that following 1915 far-reaching reforms were effected in the same manner. Any student of the period would object to the conclusion that, because of failure to secure adoption of a constitution, two of these conventions were without results. This is in no wise true. The discussions which both evoked were valuable in that they so educated the voters that within a few years amendments were voted which previously had been turned down.

Constitutional conventions in New York came in twenty-year cycles, and in the constitution of 1846 provision was made for the calling of a constitutional convention in twenty years, provided the legislature should authorize an election and provided an affirmative vote on the question should be recorded. In the period from 1846 to 1867, constitutional changes were the exception. Although several amendments were proposed, only one was adopted and that related to loans for canal improvements. Despite the unwillingness of the voters to make

changes, they approved by a large majority the calling of a convention when that proposal was submitted in 1867.

The convention of 1867 was chosen on a new plan of representation. Thirty-two delegates were elected at large and 4 from each of the 32 senatorial districts, making a total of 160. The convention met on June 4, 1867, and selected as its president, William A. Wheeler, who afterwards became Vice President of the United States. As has been the custom of the state, the leaders of political thought and action in both parties were chosen as delegates. Among them were William M. Evarts, George William Curtis, Samuel J. Tilden, Charles J. Folger, Charles Andrews, Francis Kernan, Amasa J. Parker and Theodore W. Dwight.

The most important business of the convention was the reform of the judiciary, which had proved so inadequate under the scheme provided by the constitution of 1846. The plan of having eight coördinated appellate tribunals in the supreme court was not productive of judicial harmony, while the annual change of half the members of the court of appeals made it difficult for that court to perform its duties with promptness and dispatch. The judiciary committee of the convention proposed that the court of appeals should be composed of six associate justices and one chief justice, chosen by popular vote. At the first election, each elector was permitted to vote for the chief justice and not more than four associate justices. This enabled the minority party to elect at least two judges. The judges were to serve for fourteen years and to retire at the age of seventy.

The supreme court had been a circuit court since 1785. This principle was extended by the constitution of 1821 through the division of the state into circuits. Twenty-five years later, in the convention of 1846, these circuits became known as judicial districts and were continued by the judiciary article in 1867. The terms of the judges were extended from eight to four-

teen years. The problem of appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court had been partially solved in 1846 when the judges of the supreme court in each circuit organized a general term for the purpose of hearing appeals. The number of general terms was reduced to four by the judiciary article of the constitution of 1867, and the legislature granted to the governor the power of designating judges to this appellate court.

No material change was made in the organization of the county court, although the term of office was extended to six years and the civil jurisdiction was determined on a money basis. The legislature was authorized to confer on the county court criminal jurisdiction other than that granted by the earlier constitution. The city courts of New York, Brooklyn and Buffalo were continued as under the previous constitution.

The judiciary article was regarded as a most important problem, to which the members gave the most careful consideration. It was submitted as a separate item, and was the only part of the constitution proposed by the convention of 1867 to be accepted by the voters.

Other important sections of the constitution of 1867 were those relating to the suffrage, the election and salaries of the members of the legislature, the creation of the office of superintendent of public works, and the veto power of the governor. The suffrage article, which was submitted as a separate item, provided for only ten days' residence in the election district and thirty days' in the town or ward. Its most important provision was the abrogation of the property qualification for Negroes. When this article was voted down in 1869, the feeling against participation in government by colored persons had not ceased, despite the passage of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. The Fifteenth Amendment, which became operative in 1870, rendered this provision obsolete.

The convention continued the single district plan of electing

senators, but fixed the term of office at four years and divided the members into two classes, one class to be chosen every two years. The Assembly was to be composed of 139 members, an increase of 11, who were to be chosen from counties for a one-year term. This plan abandoned the single district system established in 1846. The salaries of the members of the legislature were fixed at \$1,000, with mileage. In 1874, by amendment, the salaries were increased to \$1,500.

The veto power of the governor had been widely discussed since 1846, when the convention continued the language of the Federal Constitution in regard to the veto power, which had been adopted in 1821. During the period prior to 1846, no governor had signed bills after adjournment. In 1847, Governor Young signed two bills the day after the legislature adjourned. This practice was utilized in 1852, again in 1854, and from that time on it was followed by every governor until 1874, when an amendment provided for the thirty-day period after adjournment. In June, 1860, the court of appeals in *People v. Bowen* (21 N. Y. 517), held that the governor had power to sign bills after adjournment of the legislature. Although this decision was regarded as applicable to the ten-day period after adjournment, nevertheless, in 1867, the legislature adjourned on April 20 and the governor signed a bill on August 6. The convention of 1867 provided a ten-day period after adjournment. A provision was included making it more difficult to pass bills over the veto power of the governor by stipulating a two-thirds vote of all the members, rather than two-thirds of a quorum. In 1874, an amendment was approved which fixed the period at thirty days, and that has continued to the present.

The administration of the canal system had been subject to investigation because of the charges of graft and corruption and the duplication of agencies. At that time, the canal was controlled by a canal board, a contracting board, the state engineer

and surveyor, the canal commissioner, and canal appraiser. The convention adopted a proposal which had been made in 1846, that a director of public works should be appointed who would exercise the powers held by these agencies. The new officer was called superintendent of public works, and his term fixed at five years with appointment by the governor and Senate. The plan was made effective in 1874 by amendment, and represents one of the earliest ideas of administrative consolidation.

The conditions under which the constitution of 1867 was submitted to popular vote were so unusual that they deserve comment. The statute which called the convention into existence provided that it should meet on June 4, 1867, and the result of its work was to be submitted to popular vote at the general election in the following November. In September it became evident that the convention could not complete its labors for the November election. As a result, the convention adjourned until November 12, when the work was continued. In February, 1868, the convention completed its labors and reported in favor of submitting the constitution in three parts. The first included the judiciary article in one proposition, with the amended constitution in another. The question of whether the section imposing a property qualification for colored voters should be retained was voted on separately. The time of submission was left to the legislature. The Assembly of 1868 provided for a vote on the constitution in November, 1868, but the Senate failed to concur and action was deferred until 1869. The legislature of that year provided for a vote in November, 1869, with the constitution submitted in four parts. Separate proposals were made of the judiciary article, the taxation provision, the elimination of the property qualifications for colored voters, and the amended constitution itself.

The revised constitution was denounced as a vast scheme of centralization and usurpation of power, and was sacrificed to

prejudice, to Republican half-heartedness and to Democratic hostility. The Democracy of New York City actively opposed its adoption. The Democratic state convention of 1869 formally declared against the constitution, continuing the opposition which had been manifest by the minority in the convention. This plank stated: "That the amended Constitution of the state . . . does not commend itself to the favor of the Democrats of the state, either by the motives in which it was conceived, or by the manner in which it was presented or by its intrinsic worth."

The Republican platform contained no reference to the constitution and the members of the party were left free to use their own judgment. At the election, the constitution was defeated, with the exception of the judiciary amendment, by a majority of 66,000, while the Democratic state ticket was elected by 20,000. Interest was not great, for the vote on the constitution was 128,000 less than that on the state ticket.

This convention was in session nine months, nearly four times as long as the convention of 1846. Many needed reforms were proposed and the satisfactory character of the work is evidenced by the fact that many of the most important of these were accepted by the voters following the work of the constitutional commission of 1872.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION OF 1872

The defeat of the constitution did not end the desire for constitutional revision, and action was begun at once to bring about the necessary changes by legislative action. In 1870 and 1871, amendments were introduced in the legislature, and in 1872 Governor Hoffman in his annual message urged a constitutional amendment covering the question of bribery in elections. So many amendments were proposed that it seemed necessary to create some machinery for constitutional revision, as the legis-

lature could not provide for all the needs in an ordinary session. Governor Hoffman recommended that a constitutional commission be created, to be composed of twenty-two eminent citizens. It is interesting to note, in passing, that in 1926 Governor Smith made a recommendation for a similar commission to prepare the amendments which were essential to bring about administrative reorganization.

The legislature accepted the proposal of Governor Hoffman and created a commission of thirty-two, four to be appointed from each judicial district. Appointment was vested in the governor and Senate, and the commission membership was evenly divided between the two major parties. Six members—George Opdyke, Augustus Schell, William Cassidy, David Rumsey, Erastus Brooks and Francis Kernan—had been delegates to the convention of 1867, so that the commission had intimate knowledge of the reasons which had brought about the inclusion of certain sections in that document. The commission organized on December 4, 1872, selecting Robert H. Pruyn chairman, and continued in session until March 15, 1873.

This commission was instructed to propose amendments to the constitution of the state. The procedure was similar to that of a convention, in that committees were appointed to consider various subjects. The result of their deliberations was presented to the legislature and submitted to a joint committee which reported May 6, 1873. The legislature considered the decisions of the joint committee and approved most of the recommendations of the constitutional commission. Under the constitution, it was necessary that these amendments be passed by the legislature of 1874 before they could be submitted to popular vote. Some proposals failed to secure this approval.

In submitting the amendments to popular vote, they were grouped in eleven propositions, as follows: (1) suffrage and bribery; (2) legislature; (3) prohibition of special legislation,

boards of county supervisors; (4) governor and lieutenant governor; (5) finance and canals; (6) corporations, local liabilities and appropriations; (7) state appropriations; (8) compensation of officers; (9) oath of office; (10) official corruption; (11) time for amendments to take effect. These were submitted on one ballot and voters were permitted to cancel any proposition "with ink or pencil," and the inspectors were required to count the ballots for each proposition not so canceled. The amendments were adopted by majorities ranging from 120,000 to 360,000. Most of these amendments had been included in the constitution of 1867, which had been rejected by an adverse majority of 66,000. Five years after their rejection, the voters accepted the proposals, although the method of voting no doubt had something to do with the result. It is impossible to give in detail all the proposals and the subsequent action, but the major items will be discussed.

The suffrage amendment provided for thirty days' residence in the election district and a bribery provision was added which allowed the legislature to enact legislation to exclude from the suffrage any person who had been convicted of bribery or of any infamous crime. The legislative amendment abolished the Assembly districts and provided for election by counties. The salary of members of the legislature was fixed at \$1,500 with mileage. A provision was included which required that no member of the legislature, at the time of the election or for one hundred days before, could hold a Federal office or any office under a city government. Since 1846, the problem of special legislation had become so serious that specific safeguards were essential. To this end, a list of prohibitions was included in Article 3, section 19. The audit of private claims against the state by the legislature was prohibited. Boards of supervisors were authorized in all counties, except where the boundaries of a city were the same as those of the county.



Millard Fillmore



Theodore Roosevelt



Samuel J. Tilden



Chester A. Arthur

FOUR PRESIDENTIAL FIGURES

The changes in the office of governor were more important. The term of the governor was extended to three years, which continued until the convention of 1894 went back to the two-year term. The salary was increased to \$10,000 and the lieutenant governor's to \$5,000. The most important alteration in the power of the executive was the veto provision, which stipulated thirty days for the consideration of legislation after the legislature adjourned. The constitutional commission included an amendment which gave to the governor the power to appoint the secretary of state, attorney general and the state engineer and surveyor. The state treasurer was to be appointed by the legislature. The legislature of 1873 gave the governor the power of removal, but the legislature of 1874 refused to accept any of these changes. The commission also granted to the governor power to appoint the superintendent of prisons and the superintendent of public works, but the legislature of 1874 failed to acquiesce. These significant changes in the executive department were not adopted until the reorganization movement of 1926, although they were approved in the convention of 1915.

In regard to canals, the commission took the first steps toward significant changes in the administration of these waterways. The canals had proved to be profitable investments and an amendment was presented which stated that the legislature could not sell, lease, or dispose of the Erie, Oswego, Champlain, Cayuga or Seneca Canals. The omission of the lateral canals from this amendment gave to the legislature the opportunity to sell those unprofitable laterals which had been built south of the Erie Canal. Following the adoption of this amendment in 1874, steps were taken to sell or abandon most of them. The only one retained was the Black River feeder, which was regarded as being a source of profit to the other canals.

The legislature had been subject to criticism in regard to canal

contracts because extra compensation had been granted in certain cases where the contractors had appealed on the ground that the terms of the contract were unjust. The terms of this amendment prohibited this extra compensation, although it allowed cancellation of the contract.

Thus it may be said that the constitutional commission of 1872 made a very important contribution to constitutional development in the state. Following the ill-fated convention of 1867, it exercised judgment and restraint, and was not influenced by partisanship. The result of its deliberations was a series of well-conceived changes in the government of the state.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, 1874-94

Following the adoption of this series of amendments, the constitutional history of the state is limited, during the twenty years preceding the constitutional convention of 1894, to a consideration of the subjects of canals and judiciary. Of the eleven amendments passed, five related to the judiciary, four to canals, one to prisons and one to local indebtedness.

The problem of appellate jurisdiction in the state court system was not solved by the judiciary amendments adopted in 1869. The calendar of the highest court was clogged with cases and the new court of appeals was given assistance through the creation of a commission which was to clean up all pending cases, and which continued its activities until 1875. Thirteen years later the number of unfinished cases had so increased that by an amendment a second division of the court of appeals was established. In the five years of its existence, it disposed of 1,592 cases. This solution did not meet the difficulties which had arisen in regard to appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court. It remained for the constitutional convention of 1894 to provide a permanent settlement of the problem of appellate jurisdiction. From 1846 to 1894 this issue was constantly before the

legislature, in its attempt to provide a suitable amendment to the constitution.

The business of the supreme court constantly increased with the growing population of the state. The number of judges in each district had been fixed by the constitution and the legislature was powerless to meet the needs of the expanding legal business of the state. As a result, it was necessary to seek popular approval of the action taken by the legislature to amend the constitution. The legislature of 1877 provided for one additional judge in the second district. Following favorable action by the 1878 legislature, this amendment was approved in 1879. Two years later, two judges were added in four districts, while one additional judge was provided for the remaining districts. This legislative action received the approval of the 1882 legislature and was adopted by the voters. In 1905, the legislature was given power to add judges to the various districts and the necessity for constitutional action was eliminated.

In the constitutional convention of 1867, the local courts of New York City were included in the constitution. Following the failure of that constitution, agitation continued to have them absorbed by the supreme court of the first district. These plans failed, but it was essential that the court of common pleas have additional judges and an amendment was passed in 1880, after receiving the approval of the two preceding legislatures. The subject of pensions for judges who were forced to retire before the expiration of their terms, came before the legislature in 1879. An amendment was prepared which gave salary for the remainder of their term to judges who had served ten years. This was made applicable to supreme court judges and justices of the court of appeals. It passed the legislatures of 1879 and 1880 and was approved in the latter year. The convention of 1894 took another view of this question and eliminated the pension for all judges elected after that date. The system of making the retired

judge a referee has provided a plan of compensation for these retired judges.

The constitutional commission of 1872 had been concerned with the subject of canals, as we have seen, and had made it possible for the laterals to the south of the Erie Canal to be abandoned or sold if the legislature so determined. Agitation developed against the sale of the Black River Canal, and in 1880 this canal was included in the prohibition against sale. At the same time, provision was made for an annual tax for the payment of the canal debt.

This period marked the end of canal tolls, by the adoption of an amendment in 1882. The story of the canals has been told in another section of this history, but it is necessary to report here the final chapter in the constitutional history of this problem. The development of railroads paralleling the canals decreased materially the revenue received from the waterways. The railroads were at first required to pay canal tolls for all goods hauled. This was done on the theory that this competition took from the state's waterways business which would have produced a profit for the state. The railroad tolls were abolished in 1851 and, as the income of the canals decreased, the agitation for free canals increased. Proposals for reduction of the tolls were introduced as the competition of the railroads increased. From 1870 on, the agitation became stronger, and in 1878 Dr. Isaac I. Hayes, chairman of the canal committee, presented three amendments to eliminate tolls. He also proposed that the canal expenses should be paid by taxation and that the canal debt should be paid in like manner. The argument of Dr. Hayes was based upon the proposition that the canals had made possible the growth of New York City and the development of the cities in central New York. He stated that the city of New York could well afford to pay all that the canal had cost and the annual cost of maintenance as well. The free list was gradually

increased, and in 1881 the Hayes amendments were passed by the legislature. The two major parties approved these measures in their conventions of 1881. The 1882 legislature repassed the amendments and the voters approved the measure. In his *Constitutional History of New York*, Charles Z. Lincoln records that the free-toll provision was submitted alone except in counties where the tax provisions were submitted as separate amendments, and that on the face of the figures, sections 5 and 6, dealing with the tax provisions, were not adopted. The state board of canvassers declared that all were adopted. The same provisions were included in the constitution of 1894 and adopted, so that any question of legality as to their passage in 1882 is without point. The canals became free and have so continued. The cost of maintenance and construction from that time on has become a state charge, paid from taxation.

The constitutional commission of 1872 collected material on the subject of local government indebtedness. The result of their investigation indicated that many municipalities in the state had assumed a staggering debt. Governor Robinson in 1879 discussed this problem in his annual message. In part this debt had been accumulated through bonds issued for railroad construction. Governor Cornell discussed the subject in 1880, and the next year an amendment was introduced which called for a 10 per cent limitation on local indebtedness, based on the assessed valuation. The amendment was passed in 1882 and 1884 and adopted by the voters. This provision, which has been continued as a part of the constitution up to the present (1935), has become outmoded through a series of qualifying amendments. The decade 1920-30 witnessed another great expansion of the debt of the cities of the state and the 10 per cent limitation adopted in 1882 failed to curb bonding. This problem will be discussed in the following chapter, in the consideration of city government. During this period, a number of amend-

ments were proposed in the legislature which failed to secure favorable action. In this list were alterations in the government of cities, proposed by the municipal commission of 1876-77; prohibition of the sale of intoxicants; and changes in the educational provisions. These problems will be discussed in later sections.

THE JUDICIARY COMMISSION OF 1890

Pursuant to the twenty-year provision of the constitution, in 1886 the legislature submitted to the voters the question of calling a constitutional convention. Affirmative action by the voters was followed by failure on the part of the governor and the legislature to agree upon a convention bill. Governor Hill vetoed the convention bill of 1887, and the deadlock between the legislature and the governor continued until 1892. In 1890, in order to accomplish some limited constitutional revision, the legislature created a judiciary commission composed of thirty-eight members, equally divided between the two major parties. The commission met on June 3, 1890, and made its report to the legislature on March 4, 1891. Although none of the proposals of this commission were directly written into the constitution, nevertheless its findings were indorsed by the convention of 1894 and were included in the constitution framed by that body.

The report of the commission provided for a court of appeals of seven judges and one chief justice, rather than the two parts of the court of appeals which had been adopted by amendment in 1874. The problem of appellate jurisdiction was considered at length, and the commission worked out the plan of having four judicial departments. Judges of the supreme court were to be designated to serve as appellate judges. This idea was accepted by the convention of 1894.

The commission also recommended the abolition of the

superior court of New York City, while the same court in Brooklyn and Buffalo was continued but without appellate jurisdiction. The money jurisdiction of county courts was increased from \$1,000 to \$2,000, and county judges and surrogates in certain counties were forbidden to practice law. The judicial pension was abrogated and judges were prohibited from receiving passes on common carriers. The legislature of 1891 lacked time to consider the recommendations of the commission, and in 1892 agreed upon a bill for the calling of a constitutional convention. This action eliminated any possibility of making the changes proposed, and they were left to the consideration of the constitutional convention of 1894.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1894

The provision of the constitution of 1846, in regard to the calling of a convention, remained in force, and in 1886 Governor Hill recommended to the legislature that the voters should be given an opportunity to vote on the question. The voters approved the calling of this convention, but the legislature of 1887 failed to follow the governor's recommendations, and he vetoed the legislature's enactment, on the ground that it created a partisan convention and made no provision for representation from the minor parties. The period from 1885 to 1894 was one of intense party feeling, and a convention bill was introduced every year. Early in 1892, the legislature provided for an enumeration of inhabitants. This was taken in February, and in April, 1892, a new apportionment of senators and assemblymen was made. The next year a convention bill was passed, providing for 175 members, 160 to be chosen by Senate districts, 5 from each, and 15 to be chosen at large.

The delegates met on May 8, 1894, and Joseph H. Choate of New York was chosen president. In his opening address, the president said that the convention was not called upon to treat

the constitution "with any rude or sacrilegious hand." This philosophy permeated the sessions and determined the outcome, in that few, if any, drastic changes resulted from its labors. The convention appointed committees and began its work of considering various sections of the constitution. Among the leading Republicans in the convention were Elihu Root, Merton E. Lewis, Nathaniel Foote, Edward Lauterback, Augustus Hall, Elon R. Brown and Charles Z. Lincoln. The Democrats had in their group William C. Whitney, John M. Bowers, Delos McCurdy, William Church Osborn, De Lancey Nicoll, John Bigelow and Andrew H. Green.

It is impossible to consider in detail all of the sections of the constitution. Among the important changes considered and approved by the convention were apportionment of the legislature, the reorganization of the judiciary, elections, forest lands, the franchise, prison labor, state commission on lunacy, and education. The problem of the size of the legislature and the method of apportionment had been an issue since the first constitution was adopted in 1777. Complicating this question has been the rapid growth of New York City and the political division of the state. The rural-urban conflict is well illustrated by the constant struggle for political control in the legislature. The Apportionment Act of 1892 had been contested in the courts and had been held constitutional by a divided court on the ground that the court could not interfere with the exercise of discretion by the legislature. After lengthy debate, the membership of the Assembly was fixed at 150, and that of the Senate at 50.

Rules for Assembly apportionment were determined by the constitution, and provided for the creation of a general ratio. One assemblyman was to be given to every county, except Fulton and Hamilton, containing less than a ratio and one-half. All counties having over the ratio and one-half were to receive

two assemblymen. The remaining members of the Assembly were then apportioned to the counties having two full ratios. This meant that a new ratio was determined for the larger counties, although each would be entitled to two assemblymen under the second section. This system insured control of the Assembly by the rural counties. The shifts of population which have gone on since 1894 would cancel in part the plans of the majority of the convention of 1894. The legislature has not been able to agree on a reapportionment, and therefore the inequalities of 1894 have been perpetuated.

The section relating to the Senate provided that no city or county shall have more than one-third of all the senators, and that no two counties which are adjacent or which are separated only by public waters shall have more than one-half of all the senators. Provision was made that if any county having three or more senators should be entitled to an additional senator on the basis of the ratio, a senator should be given in addition to the fifty. Thus the legislature was apportioned, and the rural upstate minority was protected against the dangers of the majority. In the address to the people of the state, this point was made and it is so significant that one section is quoted below:

What will be the consequence of compelling the vast region extending from the city of New York to the St. Lawrence and to Lake Erie, with its varied interests, sentiments and opinions, not over-understood by the inhabitants of the city to submit to such a domination? Would such an arrangement conduce to the permanent welfare of the state? Our opinion is that it would not; and that the provision would secure to the whole state outside the city a bare half of one house of the legislature, leaving to the city such control as its members may give over the other house and over the executive department, is a slender enough safeguard against so unfortunate a result.

The address went on to justify the action in the convention on the ground that similar actions limiting representation of cities

had been taken in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio and Rhode Island.

The constitution provided safeguards against abuses in legislative procedure by requiring that all bills shall be printed in their final form at least three days before their passage. The only limitation on this provision was the addition of the so-called emergency measure. Under this clause, the governor could declare that an emergency existed, and the three days' delay would be waived. Riders on appropriation bills were prohibited. In order to safeguard the cities against legislation which might adversely affect them, the constitution divided the cities into classes and restricted legislative interference by requiring that any measure affecting less than all the cities of a class should be submitted for their approval to the particular cities affected. If this measure was disapproved by the cities, it could become a law only if passed a second time by the legislature.

The problem of the judiciary has been discussed in connection with the convention of 1867, the constitutional commission of 1872, and the judicial commission of 1890. The convention of 1894 created a court of appeals of seven members, with one division and with a limited jurisdiction in settling and declaring the law. Questions of fact were to be considered by the court of appeals only where the death penalty was involved. To provide for courts of intermediate appeal, an appellate division of the supreme court was established. The state was divided into four departments. In each department five judges of the supreme court were to be designated to act as a court of last resort on all questions of fact. The convention abolished courts of oyer and terminer, and circuit courts, and conferred their jurisdiction on the supreme court. Judicial pensions were abolished. The jurisdiction of the county courts was enlarged, and county judges and surrogates in the counties with a population of over 120,000 were forbidden to practice law. The general

object of the judiciary code was to secure more speedy, uniform, and effective administration of justice. The number of supreme court justices in each district was increased, and in 1905 it became necessary to give the legislature power to increase the number still further.

The governor and other state officers who had been elected for a three-year term since 1876 were given a two-year term. State elections were to be held in even years and the municipal elections in the odd years. This step was taken to divorce state and local elections. The suggestion that the elective state officers be appointed by the governor did not receive favorable consideration by the convention.

The forest lands owned by the state became an important issue in 1872, when a state park commission was created "to inquire into the expediency of providing for vesting in the state the title to the timbered regions lying within the counties of Lewis, Essex, Clinton, Franklin, St. Lawrence, Herkimer, and Hamilton and converting the same into a public park." This was the pioneer act on the subject of the creation of a forest preserve. This commission reported that immediate action was essential to save the forests from destruction and to protect the watersheds. The only step taken following the report of this commission was through the action of the comptroller in reclaiming for the state lands from which the timber had been cut and which had been abandoned for nonpayment of taxes. Forest conservation became an issue following the American Forestry Congress in 1882, and the next year the legislature withdrew from sale all land belonging to the state in the Adirondack area. A commission was appointed to study the forest problem in 1884. The result of its research is to be found in the laws of 1885 creating a forest commission, establishing a forest preserve, and providing that these lands shall not be sold nor leased. Every legislative session from 1885 on saw the enact-

ment of legislation in regard to the forest preserve. In the convention of 1894, the section in regard to the Adirondack Forest Preserve was adopted without a dissenting vote. It provided that the lands in the forest preserve shall be forever kept as wild forest lands and that they shall not be leased, sold, nor exchanged, nor shall the timber be sold, removed nor destroyed. This limitation seriously interfered with scientific forestry, but the scandals which had occurred in the selling of timber from state lands convinced the convention that no leeway should be provided. This section of the constitution has been the subject of debate, for on numerous occasions raids on the forest preserve have been started by one group or another. The first attempt occurred in 1896, but it was decisively defeated by the voters.

The franchise was the subject of three important changes by the convention. The first extended the period before voting, following naturalization, from ten to ninety days. This step was taken to prevent the operation of the naturalization in advance of elections. Numerous scandals had been uncovered when numbers of aliens had been naturalized just in time to exercise the suffrage. The voting machine had been invented, and mechanical voting was in its infancy. In this regard the convention was somewhat venturesome, stating that "if any mechanical device for recording and counting votes is so perfected as to be superior to the present system, the legislature may make trial of it." A system of personal registration was established in all communities of 5,000 or more, and all election boards were to represent equally the two principal parties of the state. The Australian ballot had been established earlier, so with these additions the present system of voting was set up by the constitutional convention of 1894.

The superintendent of prisons was continued as an executive officer in charge of the state prisons. In addition, there was established a state board of prisons which was to provide super-

vision and inspection, not only of county jails but also of penitentiaries. The issue in regard to the labor of convicts in state prisons involved almost entirely the competition of convict with free labor and the desirability of making the prisons self-supporting. Legislative commissions studied the problem at various times in the history of the state, and the opposition to the contract-labor system grew. Resolutions were introduced in the legislature from time to time. One presented in 1882 is indicative of this point of view. It stated that the contract-labor system was "detrimental alike to the welfare of the mechanical and mercantile interests of the state," by creating a ruinous competition between convict labor and free labor. The Democratic state convention in 1882 adopted a resolution to the effect that convict labor should not come into conflict with the industry of law-abiding citizens. The next year the legislature considered the subject but took no action, deciding that the question should be submitted to popular vote. The action of the voters was in favor of its abolition. From that date on the legislature experimented with the state-account method and the piece-price system, and each year saw some change in the laws governing prison labor.

The convention set up three principles in regard to this subject. In the first place, provision was made for employing the convicts within the prisons. Secondly, it was made clear that the products of convict labor should not be sold in the open market; and finally, that the state-account system should be adopted and the articles manufactured be sold to the state and its political subdivisions. Through this section, the goods manufactured were paid for by the taxpayers. This amendment did not go into force until January 1, 1897, the legislature of 1896 passing legislation to make its provisions effective.

A state commission for lunacy was created and given jurisdiction to visit and investigate all hospitals and homes for the care

of the insane. In 1926 this agency was absorbed by the department of mental hygiene. A state board of charities of eleven members was given "supervision, visitation and inspection of all charitable, eleemosynary, correctional and reformatory institutions in the state, however organized, incorporated or maintained." Thus the constitution of 1894 made a division between three types of state institutions and provided for control of each group. Payment of public money to private institutions for the support of the poor was regulated and limited by depriving the legislature of the right to pass mandatory laws requiring such payment from counties, cities, towns and villages. These expenditures were placed under the control of the state board of charities.

The canals, which had been a subject for constitutional action in the period from 1867 to 1894, received but little consideration by the convention of 1894. But one change was made, and this authorized the legislature to provide for the improvement of the canals without resort to borrowing. The legislature possessed this power to levy taxes for canal purposes and this section might be regarded as a statement of policy rather than as a grant of power.

The convention gave constitutional status to the University of the State of New York. In 1904 the educational activities of the state were unified by the consolidation of the Department of Public Instruction, created in 1854, with the University, which dates from 1784. By this and later action all the educational work of the state is now under the legislative direction of the Board of Regents and the executive direction of the commissioner of education, who is also president of the University. The legislature was required to provide for free public schools, and the use of public money in the aid of sectarian schools was prohibited.

Among some of the minor changes adopted by the convention

were the removal of the office of coroner from the list of constitutional offices, the prohibition of pool-selling and bookmaking, and the abolition of the statutory provision limiting the right of recovery for injuries causing death to \$5,000. The problem of the organization of the next constitutional convention was settled by the convention of 1894, which provided for a convention to be held in twenty years, with three delegates from each senatorial district and fifteen at large.

The convention completed its labors on September 29, 1894, and voted to submit the constitution as a whole, and at the same time to give the voters an opportunity to register their approval on the questions of legislative apportionment and canals. On November 6, 1894, the voters approved the two separate amendments and the revised constitution. Before the convention completed its work, an address to the people of the state was prepared and adopted. This set forth the major accomplishments of the convention. This address was vigorously opposed, the spokesmen for the minority calling it a stump speech and moving that it be printed at the expense of the majority members of the convention. The address was adopted as written and served to accentuate the political bitterness.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT, 1895-1915

During the twenty years from the ratification of the constitution of 1894 to the calling of the convention of 1915, the process of amendment by legislative proposal and popular approval made many changes in the state constitution. It seems that the voters of New York have grown accustomed to alterations in their fundamental law. Apparently they preferred to lock up in their constitution details of government and then, when necessary, make adjustments. The members of the legislature, if one can judge by the large number of proposals, were even more willing to have these detailed changes considered by

the voter. Only a relatively small number of these proposals ever reached the point where two legislatures approved them, and even a smaller number were sanctioned by the voters.

During this period, thirty-one amendments were submitted for popular approval. Of these nine were defeated and twenty-two approved. One might study these proposed amendments and attempt to arrive at some classification which would determine the basis for rejection or acceptance. Although such study would be fruitless, several observations may be made. The voters of the state guard jealously the forest lands, and it was not difficult to arouse their suspicions in regard to a change which sought to take from the state any portion of these lands. In 1896, the legislature proposed that lands in the forest preserve be subject to lease, exchange or sale. This was rejected by a very large majority. In 1913, the voters approved an amendment which allowed 3 per cent of the wild forest lands to be used for state-controlled reservoirs for municipal water supplies. Apparently the public purpose involved was sufficient to secure the adoption of the amendment.

A second observation is that the voters have been inclined to accept all the proposed amendments or to reject all. In 1899, four amendments were presented and all accepted; in 1905 seven presented, and all accepted; in 1907, two presented, and both accepted; and in 1909 four presented, and all accepted. In 1910, one was presented and rejected; while in 1911, seven were offered and all were turned down. In this group were two relating to salary increases, and these may have had much to do with the opposition which developed. In 1913, four were proposed and all were approved. These included two amendments which had been rejected two years before. Although this is hardly a rational explanation of the voters' use of the amending process, nevertheless it may represent extreme antipathy for amendments such as those for the increase in salary of the members of the legislature

and the governor in 1911. The voters, anxious to defeat these salary increases, took no chance of making a mistake and voted against all the amendments. At least the vote against these two was larger than the adverse vote on the others. Further proof as to this explanation may be found in an examination of the 1905 amendments, seven in all. The major interest of the voters was in the proposals involving a \$50,000,000 bond issue for highways. These received the highest favorable vote and the lowest adverse vote, and seemingly carried the others along. Again in 1913, workmen's compensation was the important proposal and three others were approved at the same time.

The constitutional development of this period was concerned with four major problems, the judiciary, city debts, state highways and workmen's compensation. The rapid increase in the population of the state from 1867 had made necessary alterations in the judicial system. After a period of experimentation, the constitutional convention of 1894 worked out a system which apparently solved the major problems of appellate jurisdiction and crowded court calendars. The lack of flexibility of the plan required changes, not in organization, but in the number of judges available for the disposition of cases. Five years after the constitution of 1894 had been adopted, the voters approved two amendments relating to increases of personnel. The accumulation of cases before the court of appeals made necessary an amendment which allowed the governor to designate four supreme court justices to sit on the court of appeals until the number of cases was below two hundred. An attempt to repeal this provision in 1910 was defeated. The same year, a similar plan was provided for the appellate division of the supreme court. The number of judges in each judicial district of the supreme court had been fixed by the constitution, the legislature being given no discretion to provide for new judges. In 1905, the legislature was granted this power for all districts

subject only to a limitation based on population. In the same year, appellate judges were forbidden from presiding over trials, presumably on the ground that afterwards they might hear these same cases on appeal.

The county courts of Brooklyn had been established by the constitution, and an amendment to increase the number was rejected in 1911 but was approved two years later, and the legislature was granted powers to increase the number with the limitation that the total number should not exceed one for every 200,000 or major fraction thereof.

The constitutional commission of 1872 had discovered the financial plight of the cities and, from that date to 1894, ways and means were worked out to limit the borrowing power of the municipalities. The 10-per-cent limit based on the assessed valuation was continued in 1894. Since that date the legislature has been concerned with ways and means by which local governments could increase their debt and still be governed by the 10-per-cent clause. In 1899 provision was made whereby the debt of a county within a city could be absorbed by the city, but the county could no longer exercise its borrowing power. This applied primarily to New York City. The increased borrowings of New York City for the development of the water system made necessary an amendment exempting the water debt from the 10-per-cent clause. Two years later this provision was extended to all second-class cities, and in 1909 further exceptions were made for New York City. These applied to all public improvements which produced a revenue sufficient to pay interest and to retire the bonds. Following 1915, other exceptions were made, all of which served to pile up the debt loads of municipalities, making an acute situation in 1933-35 which will be discussed in a later chapter.

This period laid the foundations for the highway system of the state. Until 1898, the building and maintenance of highways

was the function of the local governments. In that year the legislature passed the Money System Act which provided for road building on tax payments. This act was not mandatory, but money payments were encouraged by a grant-in-aid to every county adopting the law. In the same year, the Higbee-Armstrong Act was passed, providing for state supervision and construction of highways. The state was to contribute 50 per cent, the county 35 per cent, and the town 15 per cent. Up to this point, highways had been built from current tax revenues. The introduction of the automobile increased the demand for highways, and this agitation came to a climax in 1905 when a special Senate committee reported in favor of a bond issue. Governor Odell had advocated the issue of \$50,000,000 in bonds for highways. The legislature approved such an amendment in 1903, voted it again in 1905, when it was submitted to the voters and approved by a large majority. The amendment continued the principle contained in the Higbee-Armstrong Act, by requiring the county to pay 35 per cent of the cost and the town 15 per cent. This amendment stated that not more than \$50,000,000 could be outstanding at one time, making it a revolving fund. When in 1912 a second \$50,000,000 bond issue was authorized, \$20,000,000 was for the state and \$30,000,000 for the counties. These two bond issues provided the money for the construction of a state highway system.

The period from 1895 to 1915 was one in which the movement for labor legislation began to gain headway. At almost every session, some addition was made to the labor laws to prevent the abuses which had arisen in connection with sweatshops and the labor of women and children. Hours of labor were reduced and working conditions greatly improved. In 1905, by constitutional amendment, the legislature was given power to regulate the wages, hours and conditions of labor employed by the state, by any civil division, or on public contracts. In that

same year, the legislature regulated the hours of labor of men in bakeries, but the United States Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional. In 1910, workmen's compensation was provided by statute, and the court of appeals declared the law unconstitutional. Agitation began for a constitutional amendment which would make possible workmen's compensation. This was submitted to the voters and approved by a large majority in 1913.

This period was particularly barren of changes in the field of local government. The first step was taken to abolish county governments in New York City, where the county was wholly included in the city. The powers of the county board of supervisors were turned over to the city council. This was done in 1899, but no proposals were made to eliminate the county officers who became superfluous with this change. A new county officer, the auditor, was given constitutional status in 1909, and in 1907 a minor change was made in the classification of cities. Municipal home rule was under consideration by the legislature in 1906, 1908, 1912 and 1913, but no amendment making home rule effective was passed by two legislatures and submitted to popular vote. This issue was of first importance in the convention of 1915, and was made effective in 1924.

Among the more important proposals which never received the approval of two legislatures was woman suffrage. It was considered from 1897 in almost every year, but no action was taken until 1915, when it was submitted to popular vote, and lost by 194,984 votes.

Following the provision of the constitution of 1894, the legislature submitted to the voters the question of whether or not a constitutional convention should be called. The proposal was approved by a very small majority, the total vote on the proposition being only 300,000. The vote was taken in April, 1914, which probably accounts for the small number who participated.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1915

The constitutional convention of 1915 assembled on April 6, 1915. It was composed of 116 Republicans and 52 Democrats, who had been elected under the provisions included in the constitution of 1894. When the delegates were chosen in the fall of 1914, a rapid turnover took place in the political set-up of the state. The Democrats, who had been in power since 1910, were swept from office, the liberals lost their power in the Republican party, and as a result the convention was composed of the conservative element in the state. Among the Republicans, the best known were Elihu Root, who was elected president of the convention; George W. Wickersham; President Jacob Gould Schurman of Cornell University; and William Barnes, who had been for years the leader of the Albany County Republican organization. Among the Democrats were Judge Morgan J. O'Brien, Alfred E. Smith, Robert F. Wagner, William F. Sheehan and John B. Stanchfield. No Progressives were elected. The convention organized and the committees began the work of considering proposals for change in the constitution. An appraisal had been made of the government of the state and this was made available to the members of the convention. The Short Ballot Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the City Club of New York City, the New York State Federation of Labor, and dozens of other organizations submitted material and memorials in regard to various matters which came before the convention. Arrangements were made for several public men to appear before the convention. Among those who appeared were former President William H. Taft, President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University, Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland, President F. J. Goodnow of Johns Hopkins University and John J. Fitzgerald, chairman of the Congressional committee on appropriations. The testimony of these men was very important in the consideration of the changes in the

organization of the executive department and in the creation of an executive budget.

During the convention some 725 amendments were proposed. Of these 600 failed in committee and only 33 were adopted. In his closing address, President Root pointed out that 12 of the 33 measures were adopted unanimously; 12 were adopted by majorities of more than ten to one; and the balance were accepted by not less than two-to-one majorities. The final vote was 118 to 33, and was in no sense of the word a partisan political vote. The opposition in the final vote was a combination of upstate Republicans and New York City Democrats. Later, it will be shown how these two groups were responsible for the defeat of the constitution of 1915.

The 33 changes in the constitution of 1894 will be analyzed in some detail because they have been adopted, almost without exception, by the voters in the period from 1915 to 1935. These amendments constitute in large part the political changes of the last twenty years. In earlier constitutions the question of administrative consolidation had been considered, but no action had been taken. During the years the number of administrative agencies had increased until, in 1915, there were more than 150 bureaus, departments, commissions, boards and officials. In their place, the convention substituted 17 departments. Of these, two, the departments of law and finance, were to be administered by the attorney general and the comptroller. Four departments, labor and industry, public utilities, conservation, and civil service, were under the direction of commissions appointed for terms extending beyond that of the governor. The department of education was continued under the regents, who were to be chosen by the legislature. The remaining 10 departments were directed by single heads appointed by the governor. Senate consent was not required for the appointment of these 10 department heads. Alfred E. Smith proposed that the governor be

given absolute appointing power, if the convention desired to make good their belief in the necessity for extension of the power of the chief executive. The removal power was likewise given to the governor. Senate approval was required for the members of the commissions, with the possibility of removal only for cause and after a hearing.

This amendment applied the principle of the short ballot, eliminated the secretary of state and the state treasurer as elective officials, and abolished the office of state engineer and surveyor. The debate on administrative reorganization was very extensive and was participated in by a large number of members. The constitutional amendments of 1926 followed very closely the ideas on administrative reorganization and the short ballot, as proposed in this constitution. There is no question that the debate in the convention and throughout the state had a marked effect in making possible the adoption of administrative reorganization eleven years later.

A radical change was made in the method of providing for the necessary expenditures of the state. The period from 1911 to 1915 was marked by the movement for the executive budget, and the convention was advised on this subject by Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland, a recognized authority. Previously for many years, the legislature had made appropriations without any study of the need of the state or of the revenue available to meet the expenditures. The governor was left, after the legislature adjourned, with the duty of making the revenue of the state fit the expenditures. This amendment required that the governor prepare a budget in advance of each session of the legislature, after consultation with the heads of departments as to their needs. This budget would then be submitted to the legislature. Department heads and the governor would have the right to appear before the legislature. This legislature would also have the right to call department heads to be present, if it deemed this neces-

sary. The legislature was given the power to reduce or to eliminate, but not to increase, any item in such proposed budget. The executive budget was added to the constitution in the next decade and some of the problems which had arisen will be discussed in the next chapter.

An important change was made in the system of providing sinking funds for the retirement of bonds issued by the state, as this had been proved to be cumbersome, uncertain and costly. This provision of the revised constitution provided that bonds should be issued in serial form, which should not extend beyond the estimated life of the work or improvement. Control of the sinking funds gave great political power to the officer in charge of them. The great expense was shown, in that the convention was given figures to prove that \$46,000,000 would have been saved in settling the canal debt if serial bonds had been used.

A new article was added, which granted power to the legislature to prescribe how taxable subjects should be assessed, and to provide officers for the supervision, review and equalization of assessments. Exemptions from taxation, which had become extensive, were to be denied except by the approval of two-thirds of the legislature and by a general law.

Two new departments were added to the government: conservation, and labor and industry. The first was to consist of nine commissioners. This agency was to develop and to protect the natural resources of the state, the forest preserve, the wild life and the waters of the state. The legislature was directed to make provision for the purchase of property in the Adirondack and Catskill State Parks. The provision against the sale or lease of forest preserve lands was continued. For the department of labor and industry, the legislature was given the option of providing a commissioner or a commission as its head. The Workmen's Compensation Amendment of 1913 was continued and

injury or death from occupational diseases was added, as well as a prohibition against sweatshops in tenement houses.

The legislative branch of the government was not altered by the convention. The apportionment limitations of the 1894 constitution were continued, which brought caustic criticism and protest from the leaders of the New York City Democracy. Several members of the convention, among them Alfred E. Smith and Robert F. Wagner, refused to vote on the constitution because of the inequalities in representation.

The evils of local and private bills were dealt with by extending the prohibition of this section of the constitution of 1894 to the auditing of private claims and to expenditures for public works as well, unless the superintendent of public works should file a statement that the general interests of the state required the improvement. It will be recalled that the constitution of 1894 provided for an emergency message from the governor in case the three-day printing provision was to be abrogated. This had given rise to abuses and the convention voted to abolish the emergency message. The salaries of the legislators were increased from \$1,500 to \$2,500. This gave rise to opposition from up-state, and was one of the factors in the defeat of the constitution.

Local government received attention in the provision for modified home rule. The legislature was prohibited from passing special laws. Charters of cities were to be framed within the municipality and then submitted to the legislature. The same method was established for amendments to existing charters. It was recommended that the legislature set up optional plans of county government, to be adopted by popular vote in the county. Special laws for counties were prohibited except at the request of county authorities.

The courts were again the subject of change and the convention sought to remove the basis for complaints of delays and undue expense in the administration of justice. The legislature

was required to enact a short and simple civil practice act, which was not to be amended for five years except at the request of the judges. Details of civil practice were to be regulated by the judges of the court of appeals and the supreme court. In order to expedite the settlement of cases which were clogging the calendars, an increase in the number of judges of the appellate divisions of the supreme court, and of the court of appeals as well, was approved. Commissioners were to be appointed to relieve the supreme court judges so as to eliminate the large number of refereeships which were expensive to litigants. The jurisdiction of county courts was increased from cases involving \$2,000 to those involving \$3,000, the county courts in New York City were abolished and their jurisdiction transferred to the city courts. Children's courts and courts of domestic relations were authorized. These changes in the court system did not alter that established in 1894 in any major particular, but rather had for their purpose the elimination of certain defects and the speeding up of the administration of justice.

In regard to the suffrage, the basis was laid for absentee voting, but on the subject of woman suffrage the convention took no action and agreed to submit the question to the voters as a separate amendment.

The convention completed its labors and submitted the constitution in November, 1915. In addition to the revised constitution, four separate amendments were submitted, relating to woman suffrage, legislative apportionment, the debt for canal improvement, and a new article on taxation. All of the proposals submitted were defeated by large majorities. The defeat of the constitution was the result of a combination of causes, despite the fact that it included many far-reaching reforms, a number of which have been adopted since 1915. This opposition may be summarized as coming from organized labor, the Progressive party leaders, Tammany, upstate Republican leaders, and civil

service employees. The opposition was a combination of elements which had little in common except the defeat of this instrument of government. The attitude of certain of these groups throws some light on constitutional development since 1915. For that reason, the basis of their opposition will be analyzed.

At a meeting of the State Federation of Labor on May 24, 1915, eight amendments were asked of the convention but none were adopted. These requests included a trade-disputes act, old-age pensions, protection of women and children in industry, a state fund for workmen's compensation, and the guarantee of continuous administration by making the labor commissioner a constitutional officer. Organized labor was further stirred up by the failure of the convention to include protection against the use of military tribunals to try strikers. An occurrence in West Virginia had focused attention on this issue. On October 4, the State Federation of Labor agreed to oppose the revised constitution and sent out handbills to its members advising them to vote against the constitution and amendments, with the exception of woman suffrage. Local labor bodies adopted resolutions against the constitution, and this opposition was a large factor in its defeat.

Three party groups opposed the constitution. The Progressive party, through its national chairman, George W. Perkins, sent an open letter to Mr. Root with reasons for opposition. This letter was inserted as an advertisement in all the leading New York papers. Other leading Progressives organized a citizens' committee in opposition, and inscribed full-page advertisements in New York papers. In this group were Rabbi Stephen Wise, Dr. Frederic C. Howe and Amos Pinchot.

The Tammany organization's objection to the constitution was based largely on the apportionment provision, which was continued in approximately the same form as in 1894, and which prevented New York City from securing a majority in

the legislature. The home rule provision was also opposed by Tammany on the ground that it was not broad enough. The *New York Times*, of November 1, stated that the executive committee of Tammany Hall had sent out pamphlets to 151,000 registered voters advising them to vote "No" on all three questions regarding the constitution and to leave the space in regard to the woman suffrage amendment blank.

The upstate Republicans in the convention were styled "the reactionaries." The leadership of the upstate group was vested in Senator Edgar T. Brackett of Saratoga, while Senator Elon R. Brown, leader of the state Senate, was also opposed to the adoption of this constitution. Senator Brown protested against the constitution because of the autocratic power vested in the governor; against budget-making as an executive act; and against the loss of senatorial power to confirm gubernatorial appointments. Senator Brown also led those who were opposed on the ground of extravagance. The governor's salary had been increased from \$10,000 to \$20,000, additional judges and legislators had been created, and in other ways the fixed charges of the state government had been augmented. The arguments of Senator Brown had a telling effect on the upstate constituency, who were opposed to higher costs of government. Senator Brackett fought every inch of the way in the convention to prevent change in the status quo. He represented the point of view of those leaders who believed that extension of power of the governor was a step toward monarchy, and that municipal governments should not be granted increased authority.

The friends of the constitution were not quiet. The voters of the state were deluged with pamphlets covering various aspects of the new instrument of government. Their conclusions might be summed up as follows: (1) the abolition of invisible government; (2) the simplification of the administrative organization of the state; (3) greater economies in the cost of government;

(4) speedier and less expensive justice; (5) enlarged powers of self-government to cities and counties; (6) improved legislature and legislation. The constitution failed of adoption because in general the voters were not ready for the drastic changes in the relative position of the governor and the legislature. The necessary political education was acquired in the next ten years, and the whole idea was then accepted without difficulty. The radicals and progressives were not satisfied with the provisions for social reform. At this point, the delegates were not far enough advanced. Fifteen years saw great strides in this movement. The alignment of the ultraradicals, the ultraconservatives, Tammany, and the city employees was sufficient to defeat the constitution.

The constitutional history of New York from 1867 to 1915 contains few vital changes in the structure of the government, but many important additions to the administrative machinery. These new activities placed such a burden on the governor that administrative reorganization and the adoption of an executive budget became foregone conclusions. The economic development of the state was so rapid that the government could not keep pace with it. The leadership in the state from 1867 to 1915 came predominantly from upstate, and was conservative. This group blinded their eyes to the needs of the workers, and by 1916 the movement was already under way which was to lead to a new alignment, having as its end social and economic changes of vast import.

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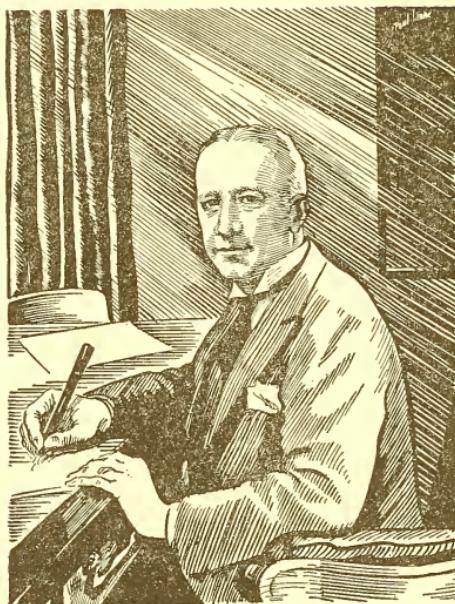
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RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, 1915-1935

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RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS 1915-1935

ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION

THE defeat of the constitutional convention of 1915 marked the end of an epoch in the political history of New York. At the same time it began a new period, which resulted in the modernization of the state government, including administrative reorganization and the executive budget; the liberalization of the labor laws; the development of an emergency welfare program; and the creation of a water-power policy. The local-government problem was debated at length, but no policy was established. Home rule was written into the constitution, but the process of centralization was extended so that the state government secured greater and greater power over the local units. Local rural government, despite the recommendations of several governors, was not altered and remained essentially as it had been since the days of King James.

Politically, the changes of this period have been due in large part to the practical sagacity and judgment of Alfred E. Smith and his successors in the gubernatorial chair. The Smith dynasty ruled New York for fifteen of the nineteen years of this period. As a result, the evolution of state government during that time has been largely the achievement of Alfred E. Smith.

The political history of this period from 1916 to 1935 is marked by the decline of the Republican party and the ascendancy of the Democrats in state affairs. Gov. Charles S. Whitman was reelected in 1916, but was defeated by Alfred E. Smith in 1918 and, with the exception of the single term of Nathan L. Miller, 1921-22, the Democrats controlled the governorship and most of the state offices during the period. In

1924, Governor Smith defeated Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., for the governorship. In 1926, Ogden Mills was the losing Republican candidate. The Republican attorney-general, Albert E. Oettinger, was the opponent of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1928. Former Federal district attorney Charles H. Tuttle was defeated by Governor Roosevelt in 1930. In 1932, the Democrats nominated Herbert H. Lehman, lieutenant governor during the Roosevelt administrations, who defeated the Republican candidate, Col. William J. Donovan. Governor Lehman was reelected in 1934. Despite the remarkable popularity of Democratic governors, the legislature remained in the hands of the Republican party until January 1, 1935. Previously, the only exceptions were the election of Democratic Senates in 1922 and in 1932. The Assembly, in large part because of the apportionment of 1894, was Republican at each session, although the majority diminished gradually up to 1934. The speakers of the Assembly during the period were: Thaddeus C. Sweet, 1915-20; H. Edmund MacHold, 1921-24; and Joseph A. McGinnis, 1925-34. The majority leaders of the Senate were: Elon R. Brown, 1915-18; Henry J. Walters, 1919-20; Clayton R. Lusk, 1921-22; James J. Walker, 1923-24; John Knight, 1925-30; George R. Fearon, 1931-32; and John J. Dunnigan, 1933-34. The ability of Governors Smith, Roosevelt and Lehman to take advantage of controversial issues made it possible for them to secure popular approval of their programs.

As early as 1872, proposals were made for the administrative reorganization of the state. The first step was taken in the creation of the office of superintendent of public works, which combined certain activities in connection with the canals. In the constitutional convention of 1894, the minority attempted to have administrative consolidation considered, but without result. Although discussion continued, no active measures were taken until 1909, when Gov. Charles E. Hughes recommended admin-

istrative reorganization and consolidation, which he said would "tend to promote efficiency in public office by increasing the effectiveness of the voter and by diminishing the opportunities of the practical manipulators who take advantage of the multiplicity of elective offices to perfect their schemes at the public expense." He also expressed his belief in the centralization of power in the governor, who should appoint a cabinet of administrative heads. Amendments to provide for a short ballot were introduced in the legislature, but no action was taken. The movement was revived in 1912 and one year later a department of efficiency and economy was created. For the next two years, this agency was concerned with financial methods and budgetary procedure. In 1914, this department, in coöperation with the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, began an investigation of the government and administration of the state in preparation for the constitutional convention of 1915. The first report, published in January, 1915, was entitled, *Government of the State of New York: A Description of Its Organization and Functions*. This is without question the most detailed and systematic investigation of state government ever made. Later a companion volume, *The Constitution and Government of the State of New York: An Appraisal*, was issued, which gave in the form of a criticism the defects in state government, together with their remedies. These investigations proved that the government of the state was both irresponsible and irresponsive. Surveys showed that the state administration consisted of 169 agencies, boards, commissions, officers, etc., representing an almost completely disorganized system without control or responsibility in the one nominal head—the governor. Numerous conflicts of authority and overlappings of jurisdiction were pointed out. There were found to be 16 separate and distinct methods of appointment, and 7 methods of removal. A chart was presented, showing the lack of correspondence in methods

of appointment and removal, and vividly portraying the confusion and irresponsibility of the state government. The state had no adequate method of financial accounting and budget-making, with the result that the cost of state government was far too high.

Such was the situation that faced the constitutional convention of 1915, in regard to the administrative organization of the state. The plan of that body has already been discussed and the failure to adopt that constitution left the state with the same irresponsible government as before.

It was at this point that Alfred E. Smith, who had been elected governor in 1918, began his work to effect changes in the state government. He had been a member of the Assembly since 1903, speaker in 1913, minority leader of the constitutional convention, and was lauded by Elihu Root as the best informed man of that body. He understood the state government thoroughly and was willing to undertake the task of bringing about the needed reforms. From January 1, 1919, until 1926, when he saw his reforms adopted, he worked unceasingly to accomplish his ends.

In his first message, Governor Smith advised the legislature that he would appoint a reconstruction commission to bring about a better coördination of the functions of the state, and to assist in the solution of the problems of reconstruction which faced New York following the World War. On January 20, 1919, the membership of this commission was announced and a request was made for an appropriation of \$75,000 to meet its expenses. Abram I. Elkus was named as chairman and the members consisted of distinguished citizens of the state. Among them were Bernard M. Baruch, V. Everit Macy and S. J. Lowell. Its committee on retrenchment reported on October 10, 1919, and recommended that economy and responsible government would result only from:

1. A consolidation of all administrative departments, commissions, boards, and other agencies into a small number of departments, each headed by a single officer, except departments where quasi-legislative or inspectional and advisory functions require a board.

2. The adoption of the principle that the governor is to be held responsible for good administration and is to have the power to choose the heads of departments, who are to constitute his cabinet and who are to be held strictly accountable to him through his power to appoint and remove, and through his leadership in budget preparation. This involves among other things the reduction in the number of elective officers to two; the governor and a comptroller to act as independent financial auditor. Although there are objections to the confirmation by the senate of nominations by the governor, we are of the opinion that this check has on the whole worked well and should be retained.

3. The extension of the term of the governor to four years and the careful adjustment of the terms of the department heads with reference to the term of the governor. Excepting members of boards with overlapping terms, department heads should have the same term as the governor.

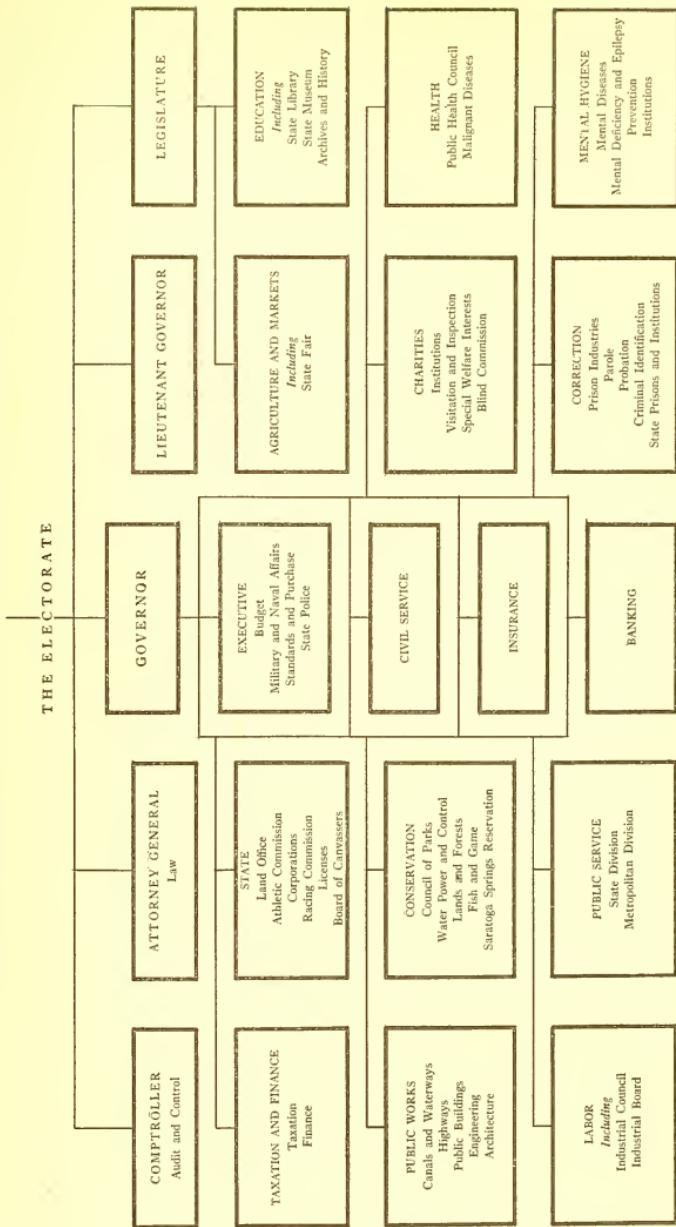
4. The grouping of related offices and work in each of the several departments into appropriate divisions and bureaus, responsibility for each branch of the work to be centralized in an accountable chief.

5. A budget system vesting in the governor the full responsibility for presenting each year a consolidated budget containing all expenditures which in his opinion should be undertaken by the State, and a proposed plan for obtaining the necessary revenues, such a budget to represent the work of the governor and his cabinet. Incorporation of all appropriations based upon the budget in a single appropriation bill. Restriction of the power of the legislature to increase items in the budget. Provision that pending action on this bill the legislature shall not enact any other appropriation bill except on recommendation of the governor. Granting to the governor the power to veto items or parts of items. Provision that special appropriation bills shall secure the specific means of defraying appropriations carried therein.

The state government was to be divided into nineteen departments: executive, audit and control, taxation and finance, attorney general, state, public works, conservation, agriculture, labor, education, health, mental hygiene, charities, correction, public service, banking, insurance, civil service, and military and naval affairs. Three officers were to be elected by popular vote, namely, the governor, lieutenant governor and comptroller, each for a term of four years.

Although the plan laid down by the reconstruction commission was altered in some details before final passage, nevertheless the fundamental principles remained without material change. Constitutional amendments to make effective the recommendations of the commission were introduced in 1920 and passed through both houses of the legislature. In 1921, the Assembly refused to pass the amendments. Governor Miller, who was elected in 1920, believed that the changes could better be made by a piecemeal reorganization, and in the legislative session of 1921 a state tax department and a state labor department were created. Governor Smith was reelected in November, 1922, and the 1923 legislature consolidated the bureau of canals, the bureau of highways and the bureau of public buildings into a department of public works. The constitutional amendments providing for reorganization were passed by the 1923 legislature and again in 1925, so that the voters of the state had their opportunity in November, 1925, and accepted the proposal by a large majority. This amendment required action by the legislature to make it effective, and soon after the election of 1925 the majority leaders of the Senate and Assembly named a group of citizens "to study the structure of our state government and make recommendations to the legislature" for "information and guidance in framing suitable legislation to combine the functions and departments of the state." Governor Smith also made certain nominations for membership in this body. The first meeting of

REORGANIZATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF STATE GOVERNMENT 1926



the state reorganization commission, commonly known as the Hughes commission, was held on November 19, 1925, in New York City. It was at this meeting that former Governor Charles E. Hughes was chosen chairman. Prior to the meeting, there had been some speculation as to the chairmanship. Various names had been proposed, including those of certain persons who were known to be hostile to Governor Smith's ideas and indeed to the whole plan of reorganization. The governor, in an open letter, proposed that Mr. Hughes be selected. The opposition could not well oppose so appropriate a suggestion and Mr. Hughes, who had sponsored reorganization in 1909, served as chairman of the commission which framed the legislation making effective the amendment.

The final report of the commission was made on February 18, 1926, and was passed by the legislature of that year without any change from the recommendations of the commission. The reorganization became effective January 1, 1927, and Governor Smith had the opportunity to put into effect the program which he had sponsored since 1919. The governor formed the heads of departments into a cabinet to secure greater coördination. New York State was the first to apply administrative reorganization by constitutional change, and the results of that action have since been justified by events. Governors Smith, Roosevelt and Lehman have spoken many times of the advantages of a business administration, which were made possible as a result of these changes. The stress of the depression years, 1929-35, was made easier because the governor was in fact the head of the state and had power as well as responsibility.

The four-year term for governor was one of the planks in Governor Smith's administrative reorganization program. The governor contended that the state officers should be elected in nonpresidential years so that the issues of state and national politics could be separated. The legislature opposed this idea in

part, and in 1927 submitted to the voters an amendment providing for a four-year term, but with election in presidential years. At that election, nine amendments were presented to the voters. Governor Smith undertook the difficult task of campaigning for all these amendments except number six, which involved the four-year term. His opposition to this amendment was based on the idea that the governor should be elected in non-presidential years. His campaign was successful and the voters approved all but the amendment for the four-year term. This was one of the finest demonstrations in the entire history of the state of educating a public of nearly two million voters.

THE EXECUTIVE BUDGET AND TAXATION

The constitutional convention of 1915 had recommended the adoption of an executive budget, but it was not until 1927 that this change was made in the government of the state. Prior to 1910, no attempt had been made to collect or to compute the requests for appropriations before the opening of the legislative session. In that year a law was passed which required that these requests should be filed with the comptroller, who would tabulate and transmit them to the governor by December 15, and to the legislature on the opening day of the session. Three years later, a board of estimate was created, consisting of the governor, the lieutenant governor, the temporary president of the Senate, the chairman of the Senate finance committee, the speaker of the Assembly, the chairman of the Assembly ways and means committee, the comptroller, the attorney general and the commissioner of efficiency and economy. The plan was a failure because of the antagonisms of the members of the board. In 1916, a legislative budget system was set up, and in 1921 this provision was amended by the creation of a board of estimate and control. This agency was composed of the governor, the comptroller, the chairman of the Senate finance committee, and

the chairman of the Assembly ways and means committee. Governor Smith advocated that the governor should be given the power to make up the budget, so that expenditures would be subject to control in the interests of efficiency. The reconstruction commission recommended the adoption of an executive budget, and the Hughes commission did likewise. This was adopted by the legislature and the governor was given power to study, investigate and survey the operations of the various departments. Departmental estimates were to be submitted by October 15 of each year and the representatives of the Senate finance committee and the Assembly ways and means committee were to be invited to attend the revision of the estimates. The budget formulated by the governor, together with an appropriation bill, was to be submitted to the legislature. The executive budget amendment to the constitution was submitted to the voters in November, 1927, and became effective January 1, 1929. This action gave to the state a modernized financial system whereby the governor could control expenditures, because the legislature could make no increases without providing revenue therefor.

The legislature of 1929 undertook to dispute the power of the governor in the operation of the executive budget. The difficulties arose over the question of segregation of items in lump-sum appropriations. The legislature challenged the power of the governor to make these segregations. The issue was carried to the courts and the legislature failed to secure support for its contention. The integrity of the executive budget was maintained and the question has not been raised since that date. Each year the legislature approves the governor's budget without material change, although in 1932 the legislature decreased the budget by \$21,000,000. This change from complete legislative control to executive direction is one of the most important developments in the state government.

This period from 1916 to 1935, which was marked by important changes in administrative reorganization and by the adoption of an executive budget, was also important because of the adoption of a financial policy and a program. These may be summarized as follows: (1) the elimination of the general property tax as a source of revenue for the state government; (2) the use of the state-collected, locally-shared tax as a means of providing revenue for local governments; (3) the development of the grant-in-aid as a means of providing revenue for designated local purposes, such as education, highways, health, reforestation, old-age security, and public welfare; (4) the utilization of bonding for permanent improvements, such as public buildings, hospitals and grade-crossing removal. The adoption of these policies resulted in an increase in the taxes collected; also in the expenditures of the state government; and likewise in the state debt.

The general property tax was collected for state purposes from 1816 to 1826, but was not used from that date to 1842. From the latter year, the amount from this tax gradually increased until it reached its high point in 1872. Then it decreased until 1906, when for five years it was not collected. From 1911 to 1916, there was no consecutive policy, the tax being collected one year and abandoned the next. For the twelve years following 1917, the general property tax was again used by the state. It was reduced to one mill per dollar of assessed valuation in 1926 and 1927, to one-half mill in 1928, and entirely disappeared in 1929. At that time it was understood that the general property tax should no longer be collected by the state government and since 1929, the tax has been used only for local government expenditures. This step was taken because of the need for a decrease in the burden on real property and for the reason that the state had gradually taken over other forms of revenue which might have been utilized by local units of government.

It is essential at this point to analyze two other aspects of the state financial policy, namely the locally-shared tax and the use of the grant-in-aid subvention. The modern practice of collecting certain taxes under a state law and of dividing the proceeds with units of local government began with the liquor license tax of 1896. Under this law, two-thirds of the revenue was paid to the county treasurers and by them transferred to the proper fiscal officers of the towns and cities where liquor was sold. This act was altered in 1903 so that one-half of the proceeds was given to the local units. Changes were made in the law in 1915, 1916 and 1917, but the general principle of sharing with local governments continued. The mortgage tax was passed in 1905 and provision made for an equal sharing of the collection with local governments. Thus the principle had been established, and in 1916 it was applied to the motor-vehicle registration fees. By the amendment of 1919 the state now receives 75 per cent of the registration fee and the counties the remaining 25 per cent. The franchise tax on manufacturing and mercantile corporations became law in 1917, and provided that one-third of the revenue should go into the treasuries of the counties. The county treasurers then distribute the proceeds to the cities, towns and villages within their borders.

The personal income tax first made its appearance in 1919 and here, from the first, the principle of division of receipts with units of the local government was recognized. This law divided the receipts equally between the state and the local units, with the share of each county determined by the ratio of assessed valuation of real property within its boundaries to the total assessed valuation of real property in the state. Although changes have been made in the rates, and for three years in the percentage of distribution, the principle of division has continued. In 1922, a license tax was placed on the operation of billiard rooms and on real-estate brokers and salesmen. In both cases the pro-

ceeds were divided equally. In 1926, a franchise tax on state banks, trust companies, financial corporations and national banks was levied. In this case the total amount collected was turned over to the local governments.

The passage of the gasoline tax in 1930 provided a considerable source of revenue for the state. Seventy-five per cent of the permanent two-cent tax goes to the state treasury, and the balance to the local units. New York City receives 5 per cent and the remaining 20 per cent goes to the counties, on the basis of the total highway mileage of the county. The cities have objected to this plan of distribution because they do not share directly in the proceeds, although they must construct and maintain city streets which are used for state highway purposes. The gasoline-tax proceeds are to be used entirely for highway purposes. The most recent example of the state-collected, locally-shared tax is that on alcoholic beverages, which was collected in 1933, following the liberalization of the Volstead Act and the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The table given below is taken from the report of the Mastick commission of 1932, and indicates the rapid growth of these taxes which are shared with local governments:

Local Revenue from State-Administered Taxes

1916	\$360,000	1925	\$41,262,000
1917	2,052,000	1926	46,226,000
1918	6,470,000	1927	56,009,000
1919	9,318,000	1928	62,381,000
1920	30,521,000	1929	75,943,000
1921	33,852,000	1930	85,072,000
1922	28,334,000	1931	70,919,000
1923	30,220,000	1932	52,640,000
1924	33,870,000		

This table shows that these taxes increased very markedly in 1920 and 1921, continuing at this level until 1925, when another sharp increase occurred. From that time until 1930, there was a steady increase. The first decrease came in 1931, as a result of the depression, and this continued throughout 1932. The decreases are in part responsible for the demand that the state should collect new taxes to be shared with the localities. The most insistent demand has been for a sales tax, to be collected by the state for the use of the local governments, particularly the cities. This tax was proposed in the 1933 and again in the 1934 legislature. No state action was taken but, without question, some additional aid for local units of government will come when the need finally becomes more acute and when county and town governments have been thoroughly modernized. In fact, New York City, as an emergency measure, began to collect such a tax in 1934.

THE GRANT-IN-AID FOR SCHOOLS, HIGHWAYS AND WELFARE

State aid to localities includes as one of its most important phases the grant-in-aid. Education has received more aid than any other function of government and over a longer period of time. Grants-in-aid to education have been a policy of the state since soon after its establishment. Up to 1851 the literature fund, the common school fund, and the United States deposit fund, supplied from 10 to 20 per cent of the common school revenues. In that year, a school tax was levied and educational subventions were made, and have been made since, from current tax revenues, in addition to the income from permanent funds. The first substantial relief to real estate came with the great increases in educational aid in 1920. In 1918, the average salary of teachers in the rural and village communities of the state was

\$587, and the average salary of all teachers of the state-city, village and rural-was \$1,023. The inadequacy of salaries made imperative the aid of the state, and Governor Smith recommended to the legislature that an additional sum of \$5,300,000 be appropriated. This provided for an average annual increase of \$100 in teachers' salaries. In 1920, a teacher-salary measure was enacted which gave \$20,500,000 additional state money for the aid of cities and school districts in paying the required increases in teachers' salaries. Provision was made for annual increments. Gradually state aid increased up to 1926, and during the next year the financial bills recommended by the Friedsam commission went into effect. This commission was appointed by Governor Smith, and was composed of twenty-nine men and women representing various educational and civic groups. By 1928, state aid for education had reached the total of \$72,000,000, and, under the provisions of these equalization measures, reached a total of \$103,845,000 in 1932. For the next two years a moratorium was declared on further increases, pending the return of better economic conditions. The control of the schools of the state, as a result of these increases from 1920 to 1932, was more completely centralized than ever before in its history. As a result of this policy, the state government is committed to the program of supplying funds so as to relieve real estate of a portion of the cost of education.

At the same time that the state has been supplying more money for local education, the state department of education has increased in size and importance. Further regulations have been accepted by local communities, new activities have been added, and the standards of public education have been raised. This is particularly true in the field of teacher training and certification. The consolidated school has been established, with financial aid for building construction and as well for transportation of children.

The total state and local expenditures for education during this period increased very rapidly. In 1920, one year prior to the induction of Dr. Frank P. Graves as commissioner of education, this amount was \$108,000,000, but in 1932 it amounted to \$377,000,000. This includes the state aid, which increased tenfold during the period, while the total cost of education advanced to three and one-half times the amount expended at the opening of this epoch.

State aid for highways has had a much briefer history than state aid for schools, and two major pieces of legislation fall within this period. Prior to 1898, state highway aids had been only occasional and were comparatively small. In this year, in order to encourage towns to give up the labor system of maintaining town highways, the state provided aid to counties and towns for highway maintenance equal to 25 per cent of the town expenditures. This was doubled in 1902, and five years later larger sums were granted. In 1908, the money system was made compulsory and as a result the amount of state aid increased. The first important change in this period came with the Lowman Act of 1920, which provided aid to the counties for the construction of county highways. The weakness of the state law was that the wealthier counties shared disproportionately in the state return, and the ability of the county to provide for its highway needs was not taken into account.

The system of town aids was completely revised in 1930, as a result of the demands of the less prosperous areas, which were supported by the legislature and by Governor Roosevelt's advisory commission on agriculture. This law, known as the Pratt Dirt Road Act, doubled the amount of state aid to the rural counties and checked further increases in state aid to the wealthier counties. The highway subvention, which had begun in 1899 with a modest \$35,000, increased slowly until 1908, when it amounted to \$1,100,000. It gradually mounted until

1928, when it doubled, and from that time has gradually advanced. In 1932, it amounted to \$6,400,000. The state highway system is largely a product of this period. In 1921, the total state highway mileage was 8,357 and the improved mileage 11,261. On January 1, 1933, the state highway mileage was 12,401 and the improved highway system included 41,145 miles, under the management of Col. Frederick Stuart Greene, who began his service for New York State in 1919.

The development of local public-health agencies, with the financial assistance of the state, belongs to this period. Although laboratories had been authorized in 1913, it was not until ten years later that subventions were provided. The next year, financial assistance was given for public-health nursing. In 1926, provision was made for aid in the construction of county hospitals and, in the same year, counties which established a county health unit were given aid, up to 50 per cent of the yearly budget of that county. Four counties have taken advantage of that law. The first year in which state subventions for health are to be found is 1924, when \$26,000 was appropriated. In 1932, the total was \$538,000.

Aid to counties which desired to adopt a county program for reforestation, was provided in 1929, with the first expenditure of \$49,000, reported in 1930. The increase in this sum during the next three years was very small.

The advocacy of old-age security through pensions appeared in the Democratic state platforms of 1928 and 1929. Governor Roosevelt recommended that a commission be established to study the problem of old-age security against want. Nine members were appointed—seven by the legislature and two by the governor—and in 1930 the commission presented a report which secured immediate action by the legislature. The law provided that old-age security shall be administered by the local public welfare officers. The state bears 50 per cent of the cost

of the expenditure for relief, and the cost of administration is borne by the local government. The principle of the grant-in-aid was applied to this social problem, the state exercising supervisory control over its administration. In 1932, over \$6,000,000 was appropriated for this purpose.

The table below tells the story of this policy, which was not established in this period but which was so extended that it has become a permanent part of the fiscal policy of the state:

LOCAL EXPENDITURES
(In Percentages)

Year	Local Taxes	State Subventions	State-Administered, Locally-Shared Taxes
1916	96.8	3.1	0.1
1917	96.2	3.1	0.7
1918	95.4	2.7	1.9
1919	94.6	2.8	2.7
1920	88.9	3.7	7.4
1921	84.4	7.7	6.9
1922	86.4	8.1	5.5
1923	86.5	7.9	5.5
1924	86.4	7.8	5.8
1925	85.9	7.4	6.6
1926	86.0	7.2	6.8
1927	84.5	8.1	7.4
1928	83.3	9.3	7.4
1929	82.2	9.4	8.4
1930	81.6	9.7	8.7

New York has made more rapid strides than any other state in the direction of providing aid for local activities and, at the same time, has allowed local administration to continue under supervision. The state-aid and tax-sharing policy has become so completely a part of the local budgets that the local communities

demand more state aid, rather than less. The needs of the cities in 1934 for aid in debt redemption led to the fight for a 2 per cent sales tax. This was not successful, but one can safely prophesy that such a step will ultimately be taken.

During this period, the voters have authorized the issuance of bonds on seven occasions, not including the bonds for relief purposes. The first occurred in 1923, when a bond issue of \$50,000,000 was approved for the rebuilding of certain old hospitals in the state, and the construction of new hospitals because of crowded conditions. The legislature provided a bonus for war veterans, and a bond issue was approved but was held unconstitutional. In 1923, it was necessary to amend the constitution for this purpose, and the bonds were issued and the payments made. The next year, a \$15,000,000 bond issue was made available for the development of a state park system. In 1925, a constitutional amendment was adopted which gave power to the legislature to create debts for ten years, not exceeding \$100,000,000, in order to provide for the construction of state buildings. Out of this fund, the state office building was constructed, which provides housing for state departments. In the same year, \$300,000,000 were authorized for the elimination of grade crossings. Up to that date, no plan had been provided for the removal of crossings at grade, and from 1898 to 1925 only 400 grade crossings had been eliminated out of a total of 4,000. The population of the state institutions increased so rapidly that in 1930 a second bond issue of \$50,000,000 was made necessary for prisons and hospitals.

The bonding policy of the state was the subject of some debate. Governor Smith contended that it was good business to borrow for long-term permanent improvements, when the state could borrow at a low rate of interest. Although the legislature approved the bond issue, some Republican leaders objected to this policy, and the debate which ensued over the policy of pay-

as-you-go or bonding was carried from one end of the state to the other. Governor Smith was successful in maintaining his point, and the bonds were in each case approved.

At the close of the period, the expenditures of the state had increased from \$59,000,000 in 1916 to \$254,000,000 in 1934. These figures in each case include the grants-in-aid to local units for various purposes, but do not include the local governments' share of the state-collected, locally-shared taxes. The largest single item in 1934 was for state aid to education, an item of \$103,000,000, which in 1916 was only \$6,292,000. The net debt of the state on June 30, 1916, was \$167,628,000 after deducting all monies in sinking funds which were available for debt retirement. On June 30, 1932, it was \$462,361,000. This includes only bonds issued, rather than those authorized.

This period is the most important in the history of the state in the field of taxation and finance. It marks the establishment of certain definite policies from which there can be no turning back. The depression serves to make this doubly sure. The testimony must be given that the financial system stood the shock of the depression with a minimum of trouble and that the policy of aid to localities saved many from a serious financial condition. The state-collected, locally-shared taxes decreased very rapidly during the depression, but the grant-in-aid, particularly for welfare, was increased materially.

LABOR LEGISLATION AND PUBLIC WELFARE

The period from 1916 to 1935 has been marked by an extension of the labor laws of the state. During this time, Governors Smith, Roosevelt and Lehman have successively advocated these changes, and the legislature has accepted and passed their proposals. At the opening of this period, the labor department was composed of an industrial commission of five members with a secretary in charge of administration. The Reconstruction com-

mission recommended the appointment of a commissioner, but no action was taken until 1921, when Governor Miller's recommendations were accepted and a single commissioner was placed in charge of the department with a commission of three members acting in a semi-legislative and semi-judicial character. No change was made in the organization of the department until 1927, when two additional members were added to the commission. New bureaus were created as new functions were authorized by the legislature.

The changes in the labor laws may be grouped about (1) hours of labor, (2) workmen's compensation, (3) minimum wage law, and (4) unemployment insurance.

In 1886 the ten-hour day was adopted for women in factories and in 1896 for women in mercantile establishments. No change was made until 1912, when the nine-hour day and the fifty-four-hour week were adopted for women employed in factories, and the same provision was applied to mercantile establishments in 1913 and 1914. Governor Smith recommended the eight-hour day in 1919, and continued to press this proposal until 1927, when the legislature approved an eight-hour day with a forty-eight-hour week. This law had certain limitations which subjected it to the criticism of the governor and labor leaders. From 1928 on, recommendations have been made for a further modification of the hours of labor of women, in both factories and mercantile establishments.

The employment of boys from 16 to 18 years of age in mercantile establishments and as delivery boys was limited to fifty-four hours per week in 1924, while the hours of labor of children from 14 to 16 in factories, mercantile establishments, and business offices were reduced from forty-eight to forty-four hours per week. The employment of boys was prohibited before six o'clock, instead of four o'clock, as had been formerly the case. Safeguards were thrown about the employment of women and

minors as elevator operators and the employment of women on street railways. These changes, during the period, all looked forward to safeguarding the women and children of the state who were obliged to work. The New York legislation became a model for other states to follow.

The New York Workmen's Compensation Law was originally passed in 1911, and was declared unconstitutional. An amendment to the constitution made possible the passage of a second law which provided that employers must insure workers. In case of injury, the workmen would secure a minimum amount per week. The 1913 law provided that the state should supervise the settlement. This was changed to direct settlement, which was authorized in 1917. When Governor Smith was elected in 1919, he ordered an investigation of the administration of the compensation law. The investigator reported that 114 cases revealed underpayments amounting to \$50,000. This situation was reported to the legislature, and a hearing before a state referee was required in every compensation case before it could be closed. This policy has been continued, and it designates the state as the agency which protects the rights of both employee and employer.

A second important change was made in 1924, when the waiting period before payments begin was reduced from fourteen to seven days. This brought under the law a large number of claims which up to that time had not been compensable. This step was taken because the purpose of the compensation law was to protect the worker and to compensate him for loss of time. The seven-day waiting period was more nearly in line with the purposes of the act. During the period, increased payments have been authorized by the legislature for loss of vision and for partial loss of thumbs, fingers or toes. An increase in the maximum weekly benefit was made from \$15 to \$20, and then to \$25. The maximum for total and partial disability and for

death benefits was increased, and partial payments made for the healing period. In line with the protection of children in industry, the compensation laws grant double compensation to minors who are illegally employed, with the added proviso that the employer alone is liable. A rehabilitation law was passed, which provided for training, so that injured workmen might be located in a new occupation. The New York law covered not only injuries arising out of employment, but applied as well to occupational diseases. Up to 1928, twenty-three such diseases were specified by law. In 1929 and 1930, nine more were added. Others have been recommended—among them silicosis, the disease which affects the employees in the granite industry. The improvements in the compensation law caused Governor Smith to remark on January 4, 1928, in his last annual message to the legislature, that "as to the Workmen's Compensation Law, we have reason to take pride in the fact that it is perhaps the most liberal statute of its kind in the world."

A minimum wage law occupied the attention of Governor Smith in his first message of 1919. The agitation was continued by him and his successors in office. In 1933 the legislature accepted the recommendations of Governor Lehman. This law protects all minors under twenty-one and all women over twenty-one. It includes pieceworkers, but excludes domestics and farm laborers. A bureau was set up in the labor department to secure enforcement. In each industry, a fair wage board is to be established, composed of three representatives from employers, three from employees, and three representing the public. As the minimum wage law became effective, the proposal for unemployment insurance occupied the attention of the governor and the legislature. Governor Lehman's reëlection in 1934 and the announcement of a social security program by President Roosevelt insured the passage of an unemployment insurance act in 1935.

The period under consideration was a most important one in the history of labor legislation and administration. New York forged ahead of other states, and the administration of the labor law received praise from all quarters. From 1928 to 1932, the labor commissioner was Frances Perkins, who in 1933 became Secretary of Labor in the national government.

PUBLIC WELFARE

One of the most significant changes of this period relates to the subject of public welfare. The passage of a Public Welfare Law in 1929 remodeled the existing machinery for local relief administration. In 1825, the county almshouse had been established and from that time to 1929, over one hundred special acts had been passed with little or no attempt at codification. Relief was limited to wholly destitute persons, but few regulations were prescribed as to how such aid was to be administered. Superintendents of the poor were chosen in each county, and overseers of the poor were chosen by popular vote in the towns. Municipal welfare departments were created by special acts, with the same powers as the county and town officials.

Early in 1929, definite action was taken by the legislature to revise the welfare laws of the state. By the enactment of a single law, all but five of the special acts relating to public aid were repealed, and in lieu of these an up-to-date piece of social legislation was enacted. By the passage of this law, the whole conception of public care and aid was changed from that of aid begrudgingly given to the point of view where the government recognized the obligation and responsibility of the entire social group to the less fortunate members of society. Under this law the title of the office of superintendent of the poor was changed to commissioner of public welfare, and the city and town overseers of the poor became local welfare officers. An important change was made in administrative organization, whereby the

county became a welfare district, but the position of the town welfare officer was filled by appointment rather than by election. Provision was made for the elimination of town welfare officers if the board of supervisors so desired.

The Public Welfare Law of 1929 was passed in advance of the depression, and the new machinery was tested in the first year of its operation. This required rapid expansion of welfare offices, and also a heavy demand for money to provide relief. Although the law created a new set-up, the old officers continued to function and they were faced with a flood of applicants. It was essential that the state government should come to the aid of the local units, and the first official attempt to bring state help to the unemployed was in April, 1930, when Governor Roosevelt appointed an unofficial committee on stabilization of industry. This committee worked on the problem of staggering employment and attempted to stimulate small-job campaigns and to survey the extent of unemployment.

The winter of 1930-31 was most difficult because of the lack both of experience of welfare officials and of a policy for the emergency condition. In August, 1931, Governor Roosevelt called the legislature in special session and placed before it a welfare plan which provided for state assistance to local communities. The bill became law September 23, 1931, and New York was the first state to assist local units in welfare relief by direct grants of money.

This law created the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, which was to operate until June 1, 1932. The plan, under the direction of three unpaid officials, was to work through reimbursements to local units of 40 per cent of their expenditures for relief. Provision was also made for a program of work relief. The legislature appropriated \$20,000,000 to carry out the purposes of the law, which sum was to be raised by an increase in the income tax. At the same time, local gov-

ernments were authorized to borrow to meet their share of relief costs.

In the winter of 1931-32, it became evident that the need for state aid and for the T. E. R. A. would continue, so that the life of the agency was extended to November 15 and \$5,000,000 was appropriated to meet the costs from June 1 to November 15. A bond issue of \$30,000,000 was submitted and approved by the voters at the general election in November, 1932. A law was passed to continue the life of the T. E. R. A. from November 15 to February 1, 1933, in the event the bond issue passed. When the legislature assembled in 1933, the T. E. R. A. was again extended, this time to February 15, 1934, and a bond issue of \$60,000,000 was prepared for popular approval. This bond issue provided for relief up to February 15, 1935. The bond issue was approved in November, 1933.

It is impossible to discuss the many details of welfare administration which have been covered in part by the legislation and in part by administrative orders of the T. E. R. A. It can be said, without question, that the entry of the state into the field has been most important from both the financial and the administrative points of view. The local units would have been unable to meet the burden imposed on them, and their administrative procedures have been greatly strengthened by state regulation and control, through the use of trained social workers and the adoption of accounting control. Relief has been a local function for many generations, and it is an interesting speculation as to the extent of control which will remain when the emergency passes. The T. E. R. A. was utilized as the point of contact between the state government and the national government when the Reconstruction Finance Corporation made loans available to the states in February, 1933. In May, 1933, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration provided for direct grants to the states and the T. E. R. A. administered those funds.

The Civil Works Administration in New York was likewise under the control of the T. E. R. A.

WATER-POWER DEVELOPMENT

A state policy in regard to the development of the water power owned by the state constitutes one of the important phases of the political history of the period. Water power became a political issue, and in 1926 party differences over this question were sharp and incisive.

A brief history of the water-power policy of the state down to 1919 is essential to an understanding of the events which led to the first decision. Prior to 1905, the legislature granted to private interests the right to divert water from the Niagara River with no provision for a return of any kind to the state. Congressional action providing for a treaty with Canada prevented any further diversion of water from the Niagara River. In 1907, the legislature granted a charter to the Long Sault Development Company, a subsidiary of the Pittsburg Aluminum Company, to develop the power of the Long Sault Rapids in the Saint Lawrence River. This charter was revoked by the legislature of 1913, when a change took place in the water-power policy of the state. In the same year that the Long Sault charter was granted, Governor Hughes urged the passage of legislation to provide "for inquiry and the formulation of plans with reference to the development and the use of water power and their proper regulation and control by the state." The legislature passed the law authorizing the creation of the State Water Supply commission, which was to devise plans for the progressive development of the water powers of the state for public use, under state ownership and control. Under the act, this commission performed a great deal of work from 1907 to 1911, when its activities were transferred to the conservation commission. From 1911 to 1914, plans were prepared which in

general looked forward to state development and operation, but no action was taken by the legislature. In November, 1914, the party in power was voted out and this resulted in an alteration of the water-power policy.

The change in policy of the new conservation commission was reflected in the passage of the Machold Storage Law in 1915, providing for the creation of "river regulating districts." The authorities operating these districts had power to lease these water-power sites to private companies. This law provided that the state should annually receive 6 per cent of the value of all state lands flooded, but no share in the increased value of water power and the riparian rights which would accrue to the owners of power plants and power sites. This provision has been criticized because those who advocated state operation believed that the leasing companies were not paying a fair share of their returns to the state. The reports of the conservation commission from 1915 to 1920 were also in harmony with the new policy. In 1915, the commission recommended the leasing of water powers for fifty years. Similar declarations were made in 1916 and 1917, while in 1918 legislation to this end was proposed. The controversy over the ultimate development of the water powers owned by the state had its beginnings in 1919, when Governor Smith openly advocated a policy of state development and operation. This recommendation was continued in 1920.

No action was taken from 1915 to 1921, but the election of Nathan L. Miller as governor and the election of a Republican state legislature made possible the passage of legislation on the subject of water power. In his first annual message, the governor advocated immediate action on the part of the legislature to frame legislation in which the theory of private development under lease, with state supervision as to rates and operation, should be the fundamental idea. A State Water Power

commission was created, to be composed of the conservation commissioner, the state engineer and surveyor, the attorney general, the president of the Senate and the speaker of the Assembly. This commission was granted power to issue licenses at an annual rental for a term not to exceed fifty years. This law required that, at the expiration of the lease, the structures and works become the property of the state, subject to the limitation of payments to the licensee on account of improvements to the property of the state. This allowance was definitely provided for by law. It was this power policy that the Water Power commission attempted to put into effect during the period from 1921 to 1926. This attempt finally culminated in the controversy of December, 1926, between the commissioners then in office and Governor Smith.

In 1922, the legislature provided an appropriation for the construction of two state power houses at Crescent Dam and Vischer's Ferry. This limited the possibility of private exploitation of the waters of the canal. In view of the policy of state development as established at Crescent Dam and Vischer's Ferry, no licenses were issued for private development of surplus canal waters during the period 1921-24 and all applications involving the Niagara River were denied.

In 1925, the personnel of the commission came under the control of the Republican party, and during the next two years four licenses were issued for use of surplus canal waters by private companies. A constitutional amendment to allow the flooding of state lands in the forest preserve was defeated at the polls in 1923.

The waters of the Saint Lawrence became involved in the licensing program in 1921, when two applications were presented, one by the Louisville Power Corporation which sought a license for rights near Croil Island, and the second by the Saint Lawrence Transmission Company which desired rights in

the vicinity of the Long Sault. A preliminary permit was issued to each company, and progress was made until 1924, when the commission denied the applications, on the ground that such action was in accordance with the water-power policy of Governor Smith. In a message to the legislature, he had opposed "the issuing of licenses to private companies for the development of water power from the waters in which the state had a right or an interest."

In 1925 the commission again came under the control of the Republican party. Both applicants for the waters of the Saint Lawrence were allowed to present new applications for these projects. At the same time, the application of the American Super Power Corporation, which had not been received, was formally accepted as of 1923. The first hearing was held February 25, 1926, and subsequently throughout the spring. Conferences with the Canadian authorities as to the proposed plans resulted in agreement. The law required that a "determination" should be adopted by the commission, which would set forth the terms and conditions under which the license would be granted. Two companies, the American Super Power Corporation and the Saint Lawrence Valley Power Corporation, accepted the terms and further hearings were held to determine the financial reliability of the companies. A final hearing was called to issue the license on December 8, 1926.

At this point, it is necessary to point out that the Hughes commission had recommended, and the legislature had passed, a law which made a change in the Water Power commission. The powers and duties of the Water Control commission of the conservation department and of the Water Power commission were transferred to a new Water Power and Control commission, to be composed of the conservation commissioner, the superintendent of public works and the attorney general. This new agency was under the control of the governor, as he ap-

pointed two of the three members. The law also provided that no license should be effective until "approved in writing by the Governor." Both of these changes became effective January 1, 1927. The final hearing on the license for the two power companies was scheduled for December 8, 1926.

At this point, Governor Smith swung into action. Water power had been an issue in the state campaign of 1926, and the two major parties had adopted planks which came into direct conflict. The Republican platform stated: "We favor the prompt development of water power resources of the state by private capital and management under a system of limited leases." The Democratic platform said: "We pledge ourselves to the enactment of laws which will guarantee perpetual ownership and control by the people of the state of the state-owned water power resources."

Governor Smith had discussed the issue during the campaign, and on October 18, 1926, at Rochester, had reviewed the history of water-power development in the state, and had pledged himself to the creation of a water-power authority. This agency was to be a public corporation, charged with the duty of developing the power resources of the state. The creation of the New York Port Authority in 1921 had provided a model which Governor Smith used for his proposal for a water-power authority. The final paragraph of his Rochester speech clearly outlined the main points at issue:

There are but two roads upon which we can travel. There is no middle course. We must either take a chance and lease these properties for a term of years, which really means giving them away with the possible right of recapture after we are all dead and gone, and with the consequent litigation attendant thereto, or declare for ourselves at once, retaining not only our full and complete ownership of these properties but the right to make contracts at rates favorable to the real owners of the power—the people of the State of New York.

Governor Smith was successful in the election, and therefore believed that the voters had accepted his policy. It is with these facts in mind that the issue of the final hearing must be discussed.

On November 3, 1926, Governor Smith sent a telegram to Alexander MacDonald, chairman of the Water Power commission, calling on him to use his personal influence to prevent the members of the commission from issuing the license. No reply was received from this telegram until December 2, six days before the final hearing was to be held. This reply was, in general, a categorical denial of all the points in the governor's letter. In conclusion, the commissioners listed "special and peculiar reasons why further delay would be disastrous to the best interests of the people of the state." These special and peculiar reasons included the immediate need for additional power and the fear that the Federal government might undertake the development of the Saint Lawrence for navigation purposes. The next day, the governor replied to the letter, stressing the relation of the administrative reorganization to the administration of the Water Power Act and refusing to concede that the special and peculiar reason had any weight in making necessary the immediate issue of the license. Two days later, the governor notified the members of the commission that he had retained Samuel Untermeyer as special counsel to advise him and to "take such action in the courts as may be deemed necessary for the protection of the interests of the state." A copy of the letter was sent to the corporations which had applied for licenses. Again on December 8, the governor informed the commissioners that, in the opinion of his counsel, the proposed license was illegal, and renewed his request that action be deferred.

The upshot of these verbal combats was the withdrawal by the applicants of their acceptance of the determination. Thus the governor was victorious, and on January 1, 1927, the new

administrative set-up went into effect and all licenses henceforth required the approval of the governor. This closed one long chapter of the water-power controversy, and opened another which brought the issue to its final settlement.

WATER-POWER AUTHORITY

In his annual message for 1924, Governor Smith advocated "a New York State Power Authority which shall be a public corporation, municipal in character, having no stockholders, deriving its powers from the state and having duties specifically imposed upon it to take over and develop the water power resources of the state." From this date to the time of his retirement from office, every annual message to the legislature had insisted that the power authority should be created, and the policy of private development repealed. Bills to create such an agency were introduced in the legislatures of 1927 and 1928, but Republican opposition prevented their passage. The Republican majority introduced a bill in 1927, calling for the creation of a "temporary commission to study and investigate the water power situation in the state with particular reference to ascertaining the proper manner for the development and utilization of the water power resources of the state." This bill passed both houses of the legislature, but was vetoed by the governor, on the ground that the creation of an investigating commission was a waste of time. The next year a similar bill was introduced, passed and vetoed by the governor.

In the campaign of 1928, the water-power issue was defined. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic candidate, accepted in full Governor Smith's plan for a power authority. Albert Ottinger, the Republican candidate, defended the policy of an impartial investigation, as enunciated in the Sargent bills of 1927 and 1928. The election of a Democratic governor and a Republican legislature continued the conflict, and on January

1, 1929, the newly-elected governor stated his proposals for a policy of water-power development and accepted the procedure of investigation as provided in the Sargent bills. The central theme was "that there should be no alienation of our possession and title to our power sites and that whatever method of distribution be adopted there can be no possible legal thwarting of the protection of the people themselves from excessive profits on the part of anybody." On March 12, 1929, in a special message to the legislature, Governor Roosevelt recommended the establishment of a commission to propose a plan for the development of the water-power resources on the Saint Lawrence River, based on two principles:

1. The ownership of the sites should remain in the hands of the people. The dams and plants necessary to generate power should be built, financed, owned, operated and occupied by the trustees, as the instrumentality of the state.

2. The power should be transmitted and distributed through the employment of private capital, but should be sold only on a contract basis which would control the price to the consumer.

Legislation embodying these proposals failed to pass the 1929 legislature, but were reintroduced in 1930 and became law. Governor Roosevelt was given power to appoint the commission, but the legislature retained authority to approve the plan. Thus the policy of maintaining the state's water-power resources as inalienable possessions of the people, a plan for public development, received the sanction of the legislature and was supported by both parties. In ten years, the policy of the state had been reversed, largely through the efforts of Governor Smith, who educated the people of the state to this principle.

Governor Roosevelt appointed a commission on August 4, 1930, composed of Robert M. Haig, professor of taxation in Columbia University; Julius H. Cohen, counsel for the New York Port Authority; Thomas F. Conway, former lieutenant

governor; Congressman Frederick M. Davenport; and Samuel L. Fuller, banker of New York City. Their report, filed on January 15, 1931, is an exhaustive study of the utilization of the Saint Lawrence, from its financial, engineering, marketing and legal phases. This commission recommended that a power authority be established to make the plan effective. The legislature accepted the report and enacted the necessary legislation, which became law on April 27, 1931. The first trustees were Frank P. Walsh, Delos M. Cosgrove, Morris L. Cooke, James C. Bonbright and Fred J. Freestone.

The trustees of this Power Authority undertook, in its first three years, to safeguard the rights of New York State in the treaty arrangements between the United States and Canada covering the development of the Saint Lawrence. Other problems have involved the determination of the cost of distributing electricity to domestic and rural consumers, and the basis for negotiating equitable contracts with private companies.

In 1933 and 1934, a new issue arose to create political conflicts. Governor Lehman recommended to the legislature that municipalities should be given power to purchase and distribute electricity, when duly authorized by a majority of the qualified voters. Municipal ownership of public utilities has a long history in New York, going back to the period before the creation of the Public Service Commission in 1906. The issue was not active until 1919 and, from that date, Governor Smith and his successors recommended to the legislature that the municipalities be allowed to construct plants. The controversy grew more bitter in 1934. Public hearings were held, but no action was taken by the state legislature.

No political issue has been more significant since 1920 than water power. Without exception, this topic has been debated in every campaign, and the voters of the state have become thoroughly informed as to the merits of the question. As a result

of these political controversies, the state has developed a water-power policy which makes possible the utilization of the great water-power resources which are essential to the industrial development of the state.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

It is not without significance that, with all the progress made in the reorganization of the structure of state government—the establishment of a water-power policy, the liberalization of the labor laws, and many other changes in state policy—local government reform with a single major exception should lag behind. Local government in New York has not been materially changed since 1683. The county and town governments are in part archaic and obsolete. In order to meet new conditions, administrative districts have been created. In 1934, there were 62 counties, 60 cities, 932 towns, 555 villages, 9,504 school districts, 2,467 fire, water, lighting, sewer and sidewalk districts—a grand total of 13,580 separate independent governmental units.

The adoption of a home-rule amendment for cities in 1923 served to free cities from control by the legislature, in regard to their structural organization. The same provision has not been applied to counties or villages. Changes have been made in the town law which make it possible for towns to adopt a simplified government. These were passed in 1931. In order to make effective the reorganization of county government, constitutional action will be required. This received attention in the 1934 legislature.

The government of New York City was not changed during the period from 1915 to 1934, but the investigation of the régime of Mayor James J. Walker in 1932 and the election of a fusion mayor in 1933 brought this subject to public attention. Reform of county and city government in New York City remained in 1934 a major issue.

CONCLUSION

Any brief review of the political development of this period is bound to be incomplete. It is only possible, in a limited space, to outline the major trends. It would be unfair, however, to close this analysis without mention of the remarkable developments in the field of prison administration, of the extension of the program of the department of mental hygiene, of the health department, of the department of public service, and of the conservation department. The personnel of the state government has been of very high order, and trained men have been placed in charge of the various departments. The classified civil service has been extended and the merit system applied to a large number of positions. The state police are entirely a product of the period. Among other agencies which should be cited are the milk control board, the alcoholic beverage control board, the Port of New York Authority, and the Port of Albany Authority.

Finally, it is essential to mention the fact that the legislature has adopted the policy of investigation before action. Some criticize the procedure because it slows up action, but it has the great merit of making action sure and reliable. It is impossible to list the number of investigations by trained personnel, but two or three illustrations may be given. The Special Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment operated for eight years, from 1920-1927, and made substantial contributions to the analysis of problems of finance and taxation. In 1929, an exhaustive survey was made of the operation of the Public Service commission and the Public Service Law. The Mastick commission in 1931-32 surveyed the problem of taxation. Old-age security was carefully studied in 1929-30. Many other states have followed the practice of New York.

Many of the proposals of the 1915 constitution have been

written into law since its defeat. Great progress has been made. The period closes at the end of a major depression, but one through which the state government has rendered great service to the people. Any fair-minded analyst of these years would say that the legislative product had served to maintain New York as the Empire State.

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NEW YORK IN THE WORLD WAR: MILITARY ACTIVITIES

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NEW YORK IN THE WORLD WAR: MILITARY ACTIVITIES

TINTED NEUTRALITY

THE World War was an explosion that seemingly lay entirely outside of New York State from 1914 to the spring of 1917. While the immediateness of the war was more fully realized after the entry of the United States, even then the average resident of the state looked upon our participation as something directed entirely from Washington. But the fact that human knowledge had reduced the world to a neighborhood; that New York City, as a world financial center, had economic and financial relations everywhere; and that so many New Yorkers were of European stock, made the people of this commonwealth keenly conscious of the extraordinary disturbances.

When the war broke out there were many thousands of New Yorkers living and traveling abroad. Large numbers of them were stranded in European countries as victims of the cataclysm. Realizing their plight, a committee was formed in New York City, with former Mayor Seth Low at its head, to help them. The committee met 135 vessels carrying 103,276 passengers, while assistance was given to 2,000 families overseas. The vivid accounts of the experiences and observations of these returning pilgrims, supplementing the reports of the newspapers, stressed the reality of the war.

The official term of Gov. Charles S. Whitman ran from 1915 to 1918, and thus covered the period of New York's participation in the World War. When inaugurated, instead of setting forth a program for the overwhelmingly Republican legislature, he announced that every problem would be studied separately and such improvements as were needed would be set forth from

time to time. But he did call attention to the increase in the spirit of lawlessness and crime. He proposed a "thorough investigation" of the state government in order to manage public affairs in a businesslike, economic manner. In twenty years, he said, the state debt had increased \$159,000,000; expenditures had grown from \$11,200,000 to \$49,700,000; and employees had increased from 3,400 to 15,000. Hence a more scientific budget was recommended.

In his first message to the legislature in 1915, Governor Whitman recommended the improvement of the civil service, and the abolition of the department of efficiency and economy and certain offices and special commissions. The legislature provided pensions for widowed mothers and created county boards for child welfare. The lower criminal courts of New York City were reorganized to make them more expeditious and more efficient. In a proclamation issued on December 30, 1915, Governor Whitman, in view of the fact that 500,000 citizens of New York were of Polish origin, asked that contributions be made for the war-stricken victims of Poland—the only official recognition that year of the existence of the great European War.

In 1916, Governor Whitman recommended the unification of various boards in the conservation department. A new budget bill was passed and authorization was given to vote on a woman suffrage amendment in 1917, when it was carried by a vote of 703,129 to 600,776, and women were enrolled for the election of 1918. The workmen's compensation law was extended to cover practically all occupations except those of domestic service and farming.

Governor Whitman was renominated by a state-wide primary in 1916 as the candidate of the Republican, Progressive, Independence League and American parties. He sent out a million copies of *Whitman's White Book*, reporting his stewardship to

the people, and was elected over his Democratic opponent, Samuel Seabury, by a vote of 850,020 to 686,862. Renominated for a third term in 1918, he was defeated by Alfred E. Smith.

When the World War broke out in 1914, the cosmopolitan population of New York was moved by a spasm of excitement. Over-sea loyalties won sympathizers and defenders for the warring groups. During the period of nearly three years prior to America's entry into the World War, as one nation after another was drawn into the conflict, the sympathies of New Yorkers were divided, following the lines of national origin. At the census of 1910, there were in the state 2,748,011 foreign-born—30 per cent of the total population—divided as follows: Russians, 558,952; Italians, 472,192; Germans, 436,874; Irish, 367,877; Austrians, 244,995; English, 146,468; Canadians, 122,642; Hungarians, 96,841; and many others. The foreign-born in New York in 1910 showed an increase of 44 per cent over 1900. Among them were 597,012 who spoke no English and 362,025 illiterates. The foreign-born white males of 21 years or over numbered 1,221,013, of whom 633,168 were either naturalized or had taken out their first papers, 475,259 were still aliens and the citizenship of the others unknown.

If the foreign white stock be considered, which would include in addition to the foreign-born all persons whose father or mother (or both) was born abroad, the number was 5,736,520, or 63 per cent, leaving the native whites of native parentage at 35 per cent. The native white stock of foreign parentage, one or both, numbered 3,007,248, or 33 per cent, and was made up of 797,706 Germans, 723,263 Irish, 289,372 Russians, 266,867 Italians, 194,961 English, 145,859 Canadians, 137,163 Austrians, 44,486 Hungarians, and so on.

In New York City the census of 1910 gave the total population as 4,766,883, of whom 921,318, or only 19 per cent, were native whites of native parentage. The foreign white stock num-

bered 3,747,844, of whom 1,927,703, or 40 per cent, were foreign-born; and 1,820,141, or 38 per cent, were native-born with one or both parents foreign-born. Of these two groups, the Russians were by far the largest, including 484,189 foreign-born, or 733,924 with native-born of foreign parentage (one or both). There were 340,765 foreign-born Italians, or 544,449 including native-born of foreign parentage. Foreign-born Germans numbered 278,114 and, if the native-born with one or both parents foreign-born be counted, 724,704. Of foreign-born Austrians, there were 190,237 and, including the native-born with foreign parentage, 299,029. The Irish of foreign birth or parentage numbered 676,420; the English 162,306; the Hungarians 112,584; the Swedes 55,278; the Roumanians 45,995; the Norwegians 33,179; and so on, for all nations on the face of the globe. Of the foreign-born males, 828,793 were of voting age, but only 424,616 were either naturalized or had first papers, leaving 339,473 as aliens and 64,704 with citizenship unknown.

In Albany, the foreign-born numbered 18,165, the native-born stock of foreign parentage 36,533—the former from twenty-four different nations numbering from 6 to 4,600. In Buffalo, the native-born of foreign parentage numbered 183,-673 and the foreign-born 118,444, there being of the latter 43,-811 Germans, 17,279 Canadians, 11,399 Italians, 11,349 Russians, 9,423 Irish, 9,284 Austrians and 7,066 English. Similar proportions were found in other cities and even in rural communities all over the state. In Auburn, a typical inland city, it was reported that the Italians numbered 1,595, the Irish 1,503, the Austrians 1,480, the English 1,053, the Germans 745 and the Canadians 421. In Elmira, the Irish were reported to be 1,277, the Germans 1,162, the Italians 919, the Russians 658 and the English 383. In the General Electric Company's works at Schenectady it was estimated that among its 11,322 employees in 1920, more than 6,500 were of foreign birth, representing

forty-four different countries. As a result of these conditions, a state law was enacted May 1, 1918, making school attendance compulsory for all non-English-speaking and illiterate minors; and the railroads were forbidden to employ anyone who could not speak English.

During the exciting period of the World War, there were printed in New York City some thirty newspapers in foreign languages—Russian, Italian, German, Yiddish, Swedish, Lithuanian, Greek, Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian and Bohemian—with a circulation of from 1,500 to 161,000 each. Some of these journals had a wide circulation over the state. They differed in the interpretation of the World War according to the side taken by the home land.

Considering that so large a proportion of the inhabitants of the Empire State was closely connected by ties of blood, speech and tradition with the warring nations of the Old World, it is surprising that more clashes and outbreaks did not occur here during the period of the World War. The absence of these was due to the forbearance and good sense manifested by the men in control of the state and the local units of government.

Not only were these national sympathies natural but they were incited by clever propaganda, which took the place of news, by both of the warring groups. The British government controlled all English cable terminals and mails. The German-Americans, the Italian-Americans, the Anglo-Americans and the Franco-Americans expressed their likes and dislikes through their clubs, literature, songs and newspapers.

With the invasion of Belgium and reports of German atrocities, now known to have been exaggerated, public opinion in New York assumed more and more a pro-Entente cast. Citizens of German and Austrian extraction were disposed to explain away or to justify the allegations. Still, to the people of New York in general the war seemed remote.

The press of New York sought impartially to give the news of both sides in the conflict. Editorials in the main were disposed to accept the interpretation of the Allied Powers. Over and over the fact was stressed that the war was not ours and that President Wilson's plea for neutrality should be observed. The *New York Times*, in its news items prior to 1917, presented impartially bulletins from both sides of the conflict but, after the sinking of the "Lusitania" on May 7, 1915, its editorials leaned more and more toward the Allies.

The peace societies and clubs in New York were particularly vocal in deprecating the war and President Wilson's appeal that October 4, 1914, be observed as Peace Sunday was carried out quite generally by the churches. Labor organizations of the state denounced the war. With the sinking of the "Lusitania," resulting in the death of 114 Americans of whom many were New Yorkers, there flared up a hostile attitude toward Germany. German-Americans called attention to alleged contraband of war carried on the ship, but failed to allay the feeling aroused by the submarine. The actual miles separating New York from Europe were many, but the cable and wireless had annihilated distance, giving the latest news here, although rendered colorless by official censors, almost as quickly as it was known there. At first there was little thought that the United States would ever be drawn into the Old-World conflict.

As the weeks passed, the ties of blood began to tell. Letters from European relatives made the war somewhat more realistic. The proximity of Canada, with many Canadian boys who were employed in the Empire State resigning their positions and rushing home to enlist, gave the clash a more immediate significance. Not a few New York boys, eager for adventure, went north to join Canadian regiments or across the ocean to enlist in England and France. Quite a number of the citizens of Germany, Great Britain, Italy, France, Austro-Hungary, Serbia and other war-

ring nations resident in New York hurried home to join the colors. No satisfactory statistics are available to show the totals of those nationals who returned to Europe. In the twelve counties about Rochester 3,000 Italians were sent back to Italy, and the state may have contributed 10,000. Rochester and vicinity contributed 600 Poles and the state perhaps 4,000. It was estimated that 25,000 American Poles served in the Polish Legion.

With the flight of months, the war came nearer and nearer. The suffering or death of relatives and friends; the war contracts obtained from the Allied nations; the direct and indirect propaganda; the organization of societies both for peace and for national defense; the discussion of the war in the press, pulpit, recitation room, club and shop—all awakened the keenest interest in the conflict. The New York Stock Exchange was closed on July 31, 1914, to avert a panic, and on August 4, 1914, President Wilson asked citizens to preserve neutrality in thought and deed.

The organization of the League to Enforce Peace on June 17, 1915, with William H. Taft as president and Alton B. Parker of New York as vice president, suggested a new status for the United States in a reorganized world. President Wilson's address of May, 1916, before the League outlined a new foreign policy, which brought about an exchange of sharp notes with the belligerents, dealing with the freedom of the seas. In October, 1916, German U-boats made a raid on English shipping off Nantucket, and it was believed that they were lying off New York Bay for the same purpose.

STEPS IN PREPAREDNESS

At the Bankers Club in New York City on November 3, 1915, Ambassador Joseph H. Choate called the "first preparedness meeting." Following this gathering, cities throughout the

state formed committees to safeguard their interests. Mayor John Purroy Mitchel of New York appointed a committee on national defense and he himself enlisted for training at the Plattsburg citizens' training camp; two years later he was killed by a fall from an army airplane. His committee helped to organize similar committees over the state. On January 27, 1916, President Wilson spoke in New York City urging national defense. "We can no longer be a provincial nation," he declared. The New York National Guard, consisting in 1916 of 12,306 men and 733 officers, and the Naval Militia of 1,498 men began to recruit more actively, and were supplemented by organizations such as the Niagara Defense League, as a home guard to protect borders, railroads, bridges, waterworks and industrial plants. Mass meetings were held throughout the state to discuss the issues raised by the war, and to stress the necessity of defending the rights of America as a neutral, or to advocate a strict adherence to a pacific policy.

The "Plattsburg Movement" originated in 1915 in the desire of fifteen young men of New York City to prepare for the possibility of America's entering the war. A committee of 100, formed to draw up a plan, decided to establish a camp similar to students' training camps. As a result, on August 8, 1,200 men, mostly from colleges, assembled at Plattsburg. The idea spread to other states. The War Department approved the project and utilized it to train officers. Theodore Roosevelt delivered an address at the camp, in which he upbraided the United States for not defending Belgium, and was rebuked by the Secretary of War. The camp was given wide publicity through the press. On September 1, 1915, at a meeting presided over by Mayor John Purroy Mitchel, it was decided to make the camp permanent and an organization was formed. From Rochester 8 men went to Plattsburg and, upon returning, organized the National Defense Contingent which began to drill and to recruit mem-

bers. In the end it had 1,300 members who got their guns from the National Rifle Association. After the Federal government took over the National Guard, this was the only armed body in the state outside of New York City. It joined the Home Defense League and many of the members became officers in the drafted army.

The Plattsburg idea was indorsed by the Secretary of War and funds were obtained to make it a nation-wide movement. The enrollment in various camps over the country in 1916 was about 25,000, the attendance at Plattsburg being 4,668 in the senior camp and 4,412 in the junior camp. It was expected that 50,000 would be enrolled in 1917. The plan was so successful that the navy decided to try it out. With the declaration of war in 1917, the defenders of the voluntary camp project also supported compulsory universal training. The camp at Plattsburg was now converted into a training school for officers, and similar schools were opened at Madison Barracks and Fort Niagara in New York State.

The New York State Engineers' Reserve was organized on February 22, 1916, at the request of Governor Whitman. It consisted of 600 engineers in 13 units, who began to drill in the state armories and continued to do so until the call for enlistments. They then volunteered and received commissions ranging in rank from second lieutenant to colonel. The organization served through the war and disbanded August 3, 1921.

In June, 1916, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps were instituted in colleges, with a junior division in secondary schools. These plans also incorporated the idea of a summer camp, which was held in 1917 and 1918 and proved to be popular. Then, when war was declared, these organizations were superseded by the Students' Army Training Corps, which were organized in all the universities and colleges attended by men in the state. The representatives of New York colleges met in Albany on August 9,

1918, and appointed a committee of five members to make an appeal to young men fit for college to enlist in the Students' Army Training Corps. This appeal was indorsed by Governor Whitman, and an effort was made to recruit the 13,866 men called for by the War Department. Military tactics and drilling were supplemented by courses on the origins of the war, international law and relations, military law, government and citizenship, and other subjects. Special buildings were erected on college campuses to house these recruits for the army. The S.A.T.C. enrolled 14,635 in New York, the largest number in any state in the Union.

College graduates, students and members of the faculty were among the first to enlist after April 6, 1917. The imperfect records show that Columbia men finally numbered 8,000; Syracuse 2,400; Fordham 1,494; New York University 1,476; Union 876; Hamilton 761; Rochester 653. The loss of college men was under 3 per cent.

Out of the tension induced by the war came Governor Whitman's special message on April 14, 1916, advocating the military training of all boys over 15. A month later the Slater bill, providing for compulsory military training of all boys from 16 to 19 inclusive, became law. The Military Training Commission which was set up consisted of Maj. Gen. John F. O'Ryan, Dr. John H. Finley, President of the University of the State of New York, and Dr. George J. Fisher. The idea back of this measure was carried down into the grades where, under the Welsh bill of May 17, physical training was required for all children over 8 years. The law also provided for the maintenance of state military training camps for boys between 16 and 19.

Governor Whitman made a plea for the recruiting of the New York National Guard to full strength, "not because I dream of war, but because I want peace." He urged compulsory military training as an obligation of citizenship. Prepared-

ness parades were held in the summer of 1916. Then came the trouble with Mexico, the rush of troops to the border with all its fanfare in the Pershing expedition. New York soldiers, aggregating 18,532, were sent south to return within two months, and the excitement won many recruits. Theodore Roosevelt, Henry A. Wise Wood, Leonard Wood and others helped to create a military frame of mind. The first criticized President Wilson for not showing more force in dealing with Germany. Armed preparedness was advocated by such men as Oscar S. Straus, Joseph H. Choate, Cornelius Vanderbilt, David Jayne Hill and S. Parkes Cadman.

The National Security League, with headquarters in New York, sent out large quantities of literature and many speakers to awaken an active approval of preparedness. The Navy League had a large membership in New York. Patriotic societies were utilized to defend preparedness. The American Rights Committee in December, 1915, demanded an immediate declaration of war. President Wilson on December 18, 1916, asked the belligerent powers to state their war aims in order to make peace, but the effort proved abortive.

Anticipating an emergency, Governor Whitman on January 3, 1917, by message recommended the continuation of the Military Training Commission, which was done; and on February 6 asked for an appropriation of \$1,000,000 to increase and to improve the New York National Guard, to meet any national need. This was voted on the eighth. On April 16, \$192,325 more was appropriated for the National Guard and Naval Militia; and on June 5, an additional \$150,000. As a result of these measures, the National Guard in New York was ready for immediate action when the nation entered the war. Governor Whitman reported that the universal military training plan had brought 200,000 New York boys under supervised discipline. On March 9, under the militia law, he ordered all males between

18 and 45 to register for military duty as a "New York Guard" for home defense.

The cities and counties of New York began to organize Home Defense Leagues. The city of Albany on March 27, 1917, at the request of the mayor, appointed an advisory committee and five days later the common council voted \$5,000 for emergencies.

The New York State National Guard early in 1917 had about the same numerical strength as the previous year, organized into various service units. In addition there were three battalions of Naval Militia. The Federal government, however, credited New York State with a total organized militia of 16,323 and an unorganized reserve militia of 2,156,361.

Governor Whitman on May 6, 1917, ordered the National Guard to be increased by 10,000 men, and by July 19 he reported that the recruiting had been successful. President Wilson before April 6, 1917, had called into service some of the National Guard in New York to guard important public utilities such as aqueducts, power plants, reservoirs and railroads.

United States Army posts in New York State were located at Fort Jay on Governor's Island, Fort Hamilton in Brooklyn, Fort Totten at Willet's Point, Fort Oswego, Fort Wadsworth on Staten Island, and Fort Wood on Bedloes Island. West Point Military Academy had a staff of 155 persons and 748 cadets. To purchase land for military defense, an appropriation of \$2,500,000 was made on April 4, 1917.

An illustration of early organization for war may be seen in Jefferson County, where in March, 1917, 200 societies were federated into the Preparedness and Efficiency League, whose work was taken over later by the Home Defense Council when it was appointed in that county.

Conspicuous and unusual was the action of the common council of Newburgh, which on March 12, 1917, passed resolutions virtually calling on the President to recommend to Con-

gress a declaration of war on Germany. A fortnight later, at a patriotic meeting in the Chamber of Commerce, the citizens signed a ringing "loyalty pledge." This action was followed by a similar course of the Sons of the American Revolution on April 5, 1917, and the Newburgh *Daily News* started to enlist a regiment of "Orange Blossoms." Twenty-three men enlisted and Theodore Roosevelt was asked to incorporate them in his contemplated division.

The legislature quickly enacted into law the recommendations of Governor Whitman. On the day Congress declared war, April 6, 1917, with only the Socialist New York Congressman London opposing it, the legislature authorized the governor to make such use of the National Guard and Naval Militia as the exigencies demanded, and to enroll the "reserve militia" of the state.

It is surprising that the governor and the legislature of New York State did not take more notice of the fact that war was declared on Germany. The legislature was in session when this momentous step was taken, but no message reached it from the governor, and no resolution was passed by either house, pledging New York's coöperation with the President and Congress. The only measure that indicated a consciousness of the serious situation was the introduction of a bill to create a State Council of Defense, which, however, was not passed until May 1, over three weeks later. The act was opposed in the Assembly by Sheplacoff and Whitehorn, two members with socialistic leanings.

If the state authorities gave no official recognition of the declaration of war, the people of the state completely overshadowed that fact with their noise and enthusiasm. Albany manifested its approval with a huge parade and a mass meeting in the evening at which prominent public men in the capital spoke. Other cities throughout the commonwealth were not slow to

make similar demonstrations. Jamestown, in western New York, held a patriotic mass meeting on April 5, and five days later had a home relief and defense committee. Within a month, 640 Albany boys had enlisted and this example was followed elsewhere, particularly after Governor Whitman had decreed that the National Guard should be increased to full strength.

On April 11, the law appropriating \$500,000 for the creating of the State Police was passed, and the 237 men recruited by Maj. George F. Chandler by May were placed under the governor. This was another early response to the governor's demand for a home defense force. Barracks were located at White Plains, Albany, Syracuse and Batavia, and up to January, 1918, \$350,000 had been spent on this force. A week after the declaration of war, all aliens were ordered to be registered. The Liberty Bell and the Liberty Coach were taken on a tour of the state during the latter part of April, to awaken interest in the war. The adjutant general was authorized on May 10 to release soldiers of the National Guard for farm and munitions work, and the sum of \$500,000 was appropriated from which was purchased seed for farmers. The counties, on May 17, were authorized to vote money for home defense, and three days later a state secret service was created under the attorney general. These war measures were followed on August 29 by a food law, under a state food commission, which sought to prevent both the destruction and the hoarding of food stuffs. The commission was given wide power to regulate prices, to grant licenses, to supervise hotels and restaurants, and to aid public markets. Its activities will be described more fully later. The New York Patriotic Fund was incorporated on June 9 to provide for the wives, children and dependent relatives of soldiers in the field. By proclamation, Governor Whitman asked the people of New York to observe April 26 as "France Day." Provision was made for absentee voting by soldiers and sailors. James

Montgomery Flagg was appointed on June 19 "official military artist."

The first effective step in organizing the Empire State for war was taken with the appointment by the governor of the State Council of Defense of five members, he himself to serve as chairman, to report on all means of transportation and their availability for military use; on the military and naval resources of the state; on the possibilities and capacity of the state for making war supplies; and on the efficient coördination of industrial, agricultural and commercial resources for war use. The council had power to employ assistants, who were deemed thereby to be in military service, and had supervision of all expenditures for war purposes. In the mobilization of the state's resources, the council was authorized to spend \$500,000 for the food supply commission; \$1,000,000 for the expansion and organization of the National Guard and the Naval Militia; and \$150,000 for a military census. On May 17, 1917, the council was constituted as follows: Gov. Charles S. Whitman, chairman, State Engineer Frank M. Williams, Superintendent of Public Works William W. Wotherspoon, Commissioner of Agriculture Charles S. Wilson, and Charles H. Sherrill. William A. Orr was secretary.

On April 25, 1917, Governor Whitman authorized the organization of the Home Defense Corps, later called the Home Defense Reserve of New York State. It was a local police guard for county use, and was armed and equipped from local funds. There were 169 such units formed, mostly in the upstate areas, and they were mustered out early in 1919. An example of the response to this appeal is found in Westchester County, where in the same month, through the sheriff, an emergency force of 100 men was raised for the purpose of home defense.

THE WAR CENSUS

On March 29, 1917, an act authorized the governor to have taken at once a census of the "military resources of the state . . . for use in the event of war," and provided \$150,000 for that purpose. George G. Henry became director, and on his death was succeeded by Joseph H. Sears. By the law of May 7, the governor was authorized to appoint one director of the census for New York City and one director for each county, who, with the governor's approval, might choose such assistants as were necessary to take the census. The governor, or such military authority as he designated, should assign the powers and duties of the directors. Since the military census was regarded as fundamental to military preparedness, that work was turned over to Adj. Gen. Louis W. Stotesbury, who worked out a detailed plan. The governor also set up in each county a home defense council of seven persons, to coöperate in taking the census, to raise local funds and to appoint subcommittees. Albany County, for example, organized its committee and was ready for action by May 22. As advisory members of the Home Defense Council of each county, were added the Legal Service Board, the Food Administrator, the Fuel Administrator, the appeal agent, and the special agent, thus constituting an organization that could handle with speed and finality any question that might arise within any county concerning the war. These county census boards appointed captains in each election district, who were to enlist the 180,000 volunteer helpers who took the military census. Every individual in the state between 16 and 50 inclusive was to be enrolled within fifteen days and all pertinent information to be catalogued. This information about individuals was to be classified and offered to the Federal and state governments.

The central military census bureau, organized at Albany

under the adjutant general, had divisions on finance, to help raise money; on publicity; on defense and security; on secret service work; on transportation; on the production and conservation of food; on coöperating agencies; on the location, registration and activities of aliens; on instruction in hygiene, first aid, cooking, proper use of the flag and speakers' bureaus; on health and hospital work; and on the utilization of industries for war supplies. For each one of these investigations there was a subcommittee in every county. Thus was outlined a comprehensive plan for complete mobilization. This census supplied the basis for all later war work in the state.

In addition to enrolling men and women in the state, there were twenty-seven questions to be answered which included a report on the number of cars and horses owned, trade or profession, and possessions. Altogether eighty different items of information were called for from each registrant.

On June 6, Governor Whitman ordered all males between 16 and 50 inclusive to register during the period of June 11-25, 1917. The names and addresses of all registrants were filed on cards with all pertinent information. The total enrollment in the state of men and women from 16 to 50 was 5,818,969 as forwarded to Washington—2,917,909 being boys and men, of whom 1,630,095 were in Greater New York. The census showed that 798,000 males were of the military age, 18 to 45, 216,160 being aliens who had taken out their first papers.

Great pressure was used to induce all civil officials, newspapers, schools, churches, clubs, and labor and industrial leaders to act as propaganda agencies for the purpose of winning popular approval of the war measures. Through the publicity chairman in each county, the necessity for the war was stressed; its justice and righteousness were defended; and the imperative need to win it was set forth. Where necessary, coercion was resorted to, but for the most part education, moral suasion and an

appeal to nationalism, to patriotism and to humanitarianism, were the means used. In New York State there was an active minority that must be either silenced or converted. Following the lead of President Wilson, Germany's moral delinquency and bad faith were emphasized, while the Allies appeared as victims. At the same time, the danger of the United States, in the event of a German triumph, was pointed out.

The New York Committee of Public Safety, set up by the attorney general under the law of May 21, 1917, made a vigorous campaign to instill these ideas in the minds of the people. *The Red, White and Blue Series*, issued by the Federal government in over a million copies, were widely distributed in the state to present these views. The newspapers of New York were fed with similar material. Pamphlets carrying these ideas were printed in a number of languages to reach the foreign-born, and so far as possible the foreign-language newspapers were employed for propaganda purposes. The regents adopted plans to teach English to the foreign-born. The hundreds of patriotic meetings and parades were used, both to encourage the loyal and to discourage the disloyal. Schools, churches, clubs and lodges were persuaded to present patriotic programs. The Four Minute Men, prominent local citizens and outside speakers of renown, helped on the work. Among out of state men who appeared in New York were President Wilson, former President Taft, William G. McAdoo and many others. Each county had a committee on publicity and information, consisting of a chairman and, as a rule, the newspaper men of the region. News was sent to them from Washington and Albany, and they were expected to advertise all of the local efforts and to urge continually loyal unity of action. Members of seven Allied commissions, which arrived in New York City in almost a continuous procession, were given enthusiastic receptions and induced to make speaking tours across the state. When Lord Balfour came

to America in 1917, he and his party were given a reception in New York City on May 11 by Mayor Mitchel and Joseph H. Choate. The banquet in his honor was attended by Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. The addresses on that occasion did much to turn the tide of sympathy toward the cause of the Allied powers. Foreign soldiers brought to America were similarly employed. Americanization work and adult education programs were carried on in all important centers. Workers in industries were addressed again and again by patriotic speakers. Special courses on the World War were offered in all the universities and colleges. Institutions such as Columbia University and the University of Buffalo issued a series of pamphlets on various phases of the war. The Western Union organized a war telegraph class, with units in the larger cities of the state.

President John H. Finley called a meeting of colleges, universities, professional schools, members of the state examining boards and state officials at Albany, on April 12, 1917, to see what the "education agencies can do to meet the national needs." A constructive program was adopted. The regents proposed to offer a course in the colleges for the Reserve Officers Training Corps. "Selective conscription" was indorsed. Members of graduating classes in colleges and professional schools were granted degrees without examination, if they entered military service. Courses for women who wished to aid in war work were projected. The plans of the National Research Council were indorsed. High school pupils over 12 and teachers were suggested for farm and industrial work and for clerical positions. The state agricultural department was asked to work out a scheme for using school pupils on farms. The staff of the department of education was enlarged by appointments in agricultural education and educational extension, to assist in carrying on these new phases of educational work. President Finley

went to France on May 5 to learn what was being done there with the schools in war time.

At the same time the regents offered to assist the military authorities with the schools, libraries and scientific agencies. The State Library volunteered to abandon much of its regular work and to devote its energy to war service, such as branch libraries at state camps and army schools; to send books to New York troops outside of the state; and to spend \$30,000 of its income for these purposes. The State Museum offered its services to locate good camp sites; to study river channels; to send one geologist with each large military unit to assist with topographical maps and water supplies; to have an entomologist study sanitation and hygiene; to use a botanist to study food supplies; and to employ chemists to test ores and acids. Lantern slides for educational use and recreation were supplied.

The regents, following the recommendation of the Military Training Commission of May 4, 1917, ordered all pupils, when addressing a teacher or reciting, "to stand at attention."

An appropriation of \$10,000 was made on June 7, 1917, to protect the State Education Building from injury at the hands of enemies of the state. Cities decided to eliminate fireworks at celebrations and on July Fourth, in order to save powder. *National School Service* was sent from Washington to all the teachers of New York and thus kept them aware of the activities being promoted to win the war. On September 27, 1917, the regents adopted for the public schools a revised syllabus of modern languages, which stressed French and Spanish but omitted German. However, German continued to be taught in the colleges and in some of the private schools.

The German government bought the New York *Evening Mail* and used it for propaganda purposes. A press bureau was established in New York City by Germans and German sympathizers to send out information through pamphlets and news-

paper articles defending the cause of the Central Powers. The *Fatherland*, first issued August 10, 1917, as a weekly, was a medium for propaganda. College professors who had studied in Germany were disposed to defend the German cause. The German-American Alliance was exceedingly busy in awakening a pro-German sympathy. This work was stopped, however, when on April 30, 1918, the corporate existence of all German-American organizations formed prior to 1909 for fostering the German language, literature and history, and a friendly relation between the two peoples, was annulled. Such organizations as Labor's National Peace Council, the American Humanity League and the American Embargo Conference were inspired by German influence, while the Irish joined the Germans in organizing the American Independence Union. On April 18, 1916, von Papen's office in New York City was raided by the Department of Justice.

The national Division of Communication and Public Information organized the Four Minute Men for propaganda purposes. They were recruited from the older professional and business men, and constituted an organization of 15,000 persons. These Four Minute Men functioned in New York State from July, 1917, to December, 1918, under local chairmen and boards in the counties. New York State was well organized and these men addressed the throngs in the theaters and elsewhere to inform the people about the purposes of the war and thus to assist in the drives to raise funds and to save food and fuel. President Wilson appreciated the work of these speakers and sent them a personal message of commendation.

WAR ENEMIES AND PEACE ORGANIZATION

With so large a number of citizens of the Central Powers, and also sympathizers, who might become dangerous to the security of the state, preventive measures were taken in New York at

an early date. The Peace and Safety Act of May 21, 1917, empowered the attorney general to investigate all cases of disloyalty; and the legislature on June 5 appropriated \$50,000 for such investigations. Alfred L. Becker, a deputy attorney general, in conjunction with the Federal marshals, conducted cases against pacifists and the disloyal. A national secret service system was employed in New York to watch suspects, to listen in on telephone conversations, to inspect the mail, and to report conversations and public utterances. John Lord O'Brian worked out a plan for the internment of aliens, who were to be arrested and held in camps during the war, but the plan was not executed. The American Protective League was organized to search out the disloyal and, of the 250,000 members, New York State had representatives in every community. Vigilance committees were quite generally organized throughout the state to report to the United States marshals suspected persons. Deserters were arrested. Alien Germans were registered and forced to carry identification cards. In Rochester, about 1,400 delinquents and aliens of one kind or another were forced to carry identification cards. A woman innkeeper in Franklin County was forced to burn a picture of the Kaiser. Disloyalists and pacifists were warned. On the whole, however, New York's record in punishing Germans, pacifists, conscientious objectors and others suspected of unpatriotic remarks or deeds was lenient and commendable.

Almost a century before the outbreak of the World War, the New York Peace Society was organized. It had been incorporated in 1910 with Andrew Carnegie as president, and had branches in Poughkeepsie, Albany, North Tonawanda and elsewhere. In that year Carnegie gave \$10,000,000 to establish an Endowment for International Peace. The purpose was by scientific study of the causes of war to bring its abolition. As a result of the activities of this organization, there was a powerful peace

movement in New York, particularly among college students, teachers, ministers and women, which was intensified when the World War broke out in 1914. The Carnegie Corporation of New York, which was founded in 1911 with an endowment of \$125,000,000, among its other important services for the promotion of civilization aided the peace movement. Carnegie also endowed the Church Peace Union with \$2,025,000. Meanwhile, an impressive literature had appeared on the pacific adjustment of international disputes, and this was widely disseminated. The American League to Limit Armaments was formed in December, 1914.

The European conflict provoked greater activity on the part of the advocates of peace. The American Union against Militarism was organized in New York in 1915 by Socialists and pacifists, and had its headquarters in the metropolis. The Emergency Peace Federation was formed in October, 1914, with its central office in New York City, and continued to be active until May, 1917. The American League to Limit Armaments was created in New York in December, 1914. The Women's Peace Party became active in January, 1915, in an endeavor to stop the war. The Peoples' Freedom Union came into existence in New York City. The American Neutral Conference Committee, with Hamilton Holt as president, was active. When the Ford peace party sailed from New York City in 1915, it had among its members pacifists and internationalists from the Empire State under the direction of Louis Lochner. The resignation of William Jennings Bryan, the pacific Secretary of State, encouraged the pacifists. The cosmopolitan clubs and other organizations in the colleges kept alive discussions on peace by fostering courses of lectures on international problems.

When the United States declared war on Germany, there was some subsidence of peace talk and several of the organizations disbanded, but the peace movement continued throughout the

war. The First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace was held in New York City May 30-31, 1917. Not a few of the New York pacifists stormed Washington early in April, to try to persuade the President and Congress to keep the country out of the war.

Among the opponents of armed preparedness in 1914-17 were eminent clergymen such as Charles E. Jefferson, John Haynes Holmes, Frederick Lynch, Norman Thomas and Stephen B. Wise; editors like Paul V. Kellogg, Max Eastman, Elbert Hubbard II; educators like Nicholas Murray Butler; and business men like Andrew Carnegie. These men were supported by such newspapers as the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, the *World Tomorrow*, the *Freeman* and the *Survey*.

The Socialist party, at its national meeting in St. Louis in April, 1917, proclaimed "its unalterable opposition" to the war declared against Germany by the United States, because it was a capitalistic conflict; proclaimed its hostility to military and industrial conscription; and asserted its dislike of military training in the public schools. The entry into the conflict was branded as "a crime against the people of the United States." The party proceeded to organize county committees, wherever there were two or more locals, for the purpose of disseminating socialistic doctrines. A state executive committee conducted the work of the party in New York State. In 1912, the party in the Empire State cast 63,381 votes, which ranked it next after California, Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania. During the early years of the World War, the Socialists consistently voiced their hostility to the conflict. Following the declarations made after April 6, 1917, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers on May 1 recorded their protest. On June 15, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were arrested and convicted of violating the Espionage Act. The League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners was organized to protect the rights of persons confined for dis-

COLUMBIA CALLS

ENLIST
NOW
FOR
U.S.
ARMY

NEAREST RECRUITING STATION

Designed by FRANCES ADAMS HALSTED

RECRUITING POSTER OF THE WORLD WAR



COLUMBIA CALLS

FRANCIS A. HALSTED, DESIGNER

A broad' ye men from overseas! Please—
Nor sleep when danger's near!
There are no sons who fail!

Our fathers fought like heroes bold,
That honest home and Peace be ours,
And we'll stand by them!

Our flag for honor ever stands,
To lift the weak, to lead the free,
In daring, riding high.

From shore to shore, from Sea to Sea,
I hear the voices cry,
"For them will live and die!"

Then give Old Glory to the man
For you order shall never stand,
Nor peace be ours!

The Stars and Stripes shall lead us on,
A mighty host for righteous wrong,
And war from Earth take flight!

—Francis Adams Halsted

Painted by V. ADERENTE

loyalty. The American Civil Liberties Union, the Workers' Defense Union and other organizations were formed to safeguard individuals from arbitrary arrest for expressing their beliefs about the war. The Socialists, with other radical groups, held protest meetings and parades, but upon the whole kept within their legal rights. The pro-war Socialists rendered considerable assistance in interpreting to the foreign-born the war aims of the Allies and of the United States.

Notwithstanding the fact that New York was one of the most active centers of peace propaganda in the nation and that it had the largest groups of foreign-born citizens, there was less trouble than in some other states. No outbreaks occurred against the conscription of men for the army and the navy. An Anti-Conscription League was organized, but its activities were restricted to parades, soap-box oratory, placards and the distribution of literature.

THE DRAFT

In his war message to Congress on April 2, 1917, President Wilson suggested "universal liability to service." Adjutant General Stotesbury on April 26 informed city mayors and county boards of supervisors of the coming draft law. This notification was followed on May 18 by the Selective Draft law, which made all men from 21 to 30 liable to war service. By proclamation, the President ordered those subject to such service to register on June 5. This method, adopted in the Civil War, was accepted by the people of New York, with some opposition from the German newspapers, advocates of peace, labor papers and the Socialists; but no serious outbreaks occurred as in some of the western and southern states. General Pershing, with a small force, sailed for Europe on May 27, 1917.

Col. Franklin S. Hutchinson of Rochester was the draft executive of New York State and had full charge of the inforce-

ment of the Selective Service law. The machinery for carrying it out employed cities, counties and towns. In cities of over 30,000, the draft was in the hands of the mayor, city clerk and city health officer. In the city wards, boards of three, one a physician, registered men subject to draft and later selected them for service. In each election district there was a registrar and clerks. For example, in Rochester the 258 election inspectors were appointed by the mayor to register the men. Theoretically, the personnel of the staff was appointed by the governor, but practically it was done by trustworthy local officials.

A registration board was set up in each county, consisting of the sheriff, county clerk and county health officer. Registrars and clerks were appointed in the towns and election districts. By May 19, 1917, the registration machinery was created and the necessary cards and blanks were sent out. Mayors and boards of supervisors issued proclamations on June 4, calling all those subject to the draft to appear for registration on the following day.

Three registrations took place in the following year, the last on September 12, 1918, because of the extended age limits. After the registration of June 5, 1917, the registration machinery for the purpose of selection was modified. On July 27, 1917, rules for selection were sent to the boards from Albany, the New York headquarters of the draft. Then followed physical examinations and the call of men to service from Class I. The 49 medical advisory boards functioned by districts, but the 58 legal advisory boards by counties, there being three members of the latter on each board, who gave their services free. These boards safeguarded the rights of the individual in doubtful cases.

On June 5, national registration day, from morn to night all over the state throngs crowded the booths for registration, which for a fortnight had been in process of organization. By

evening practically all males between 21 and 30 had been registered for service, and delinquents were hunted up. The work was expedited through an automobile and telephone service. The draft boards now began their work in earnest and state officials were declared free to serve on them. These boards were kept busy throughout the winter of 1917-18.

Several weeks elapsed, however, before any of the registrants were called for examination. The drawing in Washington for the first call to duty in September took place on July 20, and the names of those chosen were printed in the newspapers. The draft boards began their examination on July 24. September 1 was set aside as "Dedication Day" for the 297,000 men who were drafted in New York. Albany, on September 2, held two huge mass meetings in honor of the drafted men. In December, 1917, all registrants still in civil life were classified, and those in Class I who were without dependents were called to service. Later the draft age was extended down to 18 and up to 45. The state could have supplied many more men had they been needed. New York led the nation in the number of troops supplied—a total of 518,864 or 10.4 per cent of the total population of the state.

Nonpartisan exemption boards were created in various parts of the state, to handle all cases of physical or mental unfitness, of drafted men with dependents, and of those engaged in some essential occupation. When allotments of selected men were made on July 24 by Governor Whitman to various cities and counties of the state, each man selected was required to present his claim for exemption because of dependents, such as aged parents, wives and children. Cases were settled for the most part equitably, and appeal agents were named to adjust claims of the dissatisfied. In 1917 about 24 per cent of those examined for exemption were rejected, but in 1918 only 15 per cent were refused. "Work or Fight" became the watchword in turning

men back to civil life. All persons between 18 and 50, not in military service, were expected to work thirty-six hours a week. To enforce the Federal Selective Service Law, New York State was divided into 9 districts under separate boards: 3 northern districts covering 29 counties; 3 western districts including 17 counties; one southern district with 9 counties; one eastern district embracing 2 counties; and the district of New York City. Each district was subdivided into smaller areas with local boards, there being 354 in all, with an average population of 30,000. For instance, the western district number 3 included the counties of Erie, Niagara, Orleans, Wyoming and Genesee, and the local boards numbered 26, with headquarters at Buffalo. These boards had the difficult task of picking men for army service and for industrial work. There were 230,744 registrants in this district, and during the war the board considered 36,906 claims for exemption.

The exemption board of the northern district number 1 was composed of five members, with headquarters at Malone. The board covered 10 counties and had working under it 18 local exemption boards. Over 14,000 cases were considered, of which 8,000 were disqualified for service, and 6,000 certified as fit. In northern district number 2, which included Albany, Delaware, Montgomery, Otsego, Rensselaer, Schenectady and Schoharie Counties, 23,830 claims for exemption were considered.

To administer the draft in New York State required a personnel of 21,722 and the total cost was \$2,119,517, or \$9.19 for each soldier inducted. In addition to district, local, and legal and medical advisory boards, there were 336 boards of instruction.

The total number of registrants in New York from June 5, 1917, to September 12, 1918, was 2,511,000. Of this number, 784,439 were aliens, 37,000 being Germans. It was estimated

that the Germans above the age of 14 numbered 50,000. Of the total registrants, 1,035,000 registered June 5, 1917; 86,000 between June 5 and August 24, 1918; and 1,391,000 on September 12, 1918. The colored registrants numbered 61,000, or 2.4 per cent.

The provost marshal general reported that from April 2, 1917, to October 31, 1918, the New York volunteer enlistments and inductions from the draft totaled 410,569 men, divided as follows: inductions in the "National Army" 253,589, or 62 per cent; enlistments in the Regular Army 89,031, or 22 per cent; enlistments in the Navy 61,779, or 15 per cent; and enlistments in the Marines 6,170, or 1.5 per cent. On December 15, 1917, no further volunteer enlistments were permitted.

Under the first national draft levy of 687,000 men, New York's quota was 122,424, but credit was given for 53,000 enlistments. The second quota to May 31, 1918, was 110,000 men, with an allowance of 49,572 enlistments. The third quota was 102,277 on June 1, 1918; the fourth, 14,972 on September 1, 1918; the fifth, 13,361 on October 1, 1918. Desertions were given as 46,000, of whom 37,000 were aliens.

When the first conscription occurred, it was believed that married men would be exempted. This led to a rush for marriage licenses by the "heroes of matrimony," who thus hoped to escape the necessity of offering themselves as food for machine guns. There was also an exceptionally large number of "war brides," who reluctantly sent their husbands to the front and may have had an eye on a war widow's pension and insurance. The "recently married" men totaled 27,893, or 2.4 per cent, of whom 9,744, or over a third, were reclassified to Class I. The married men altogether numbered 459,000, or 41 per cent, and 92 out of every 100 of these were placed in a deferred class, or exempted.

The number of drafted men who were either exempted be-

cause of dependents or who were put in a deferred class was altogether quite large. About 45,000 single men, or nearly 7 per cent, were given a deferred rating. The rejections for physical or mental unfitness were 23,000, and the total exemptions were 316,000, or 19 per cent. In a second examination at military camps 4,517 more New York men, or 9 per cent, were rejected as unfit.

As an illustration of how the draft worked in a rural region, Columbia County might be cited. There on June 5, 1917, were registered 3,281 men between 21 and 30; on June 5, 1918, an additional 232; on August 24, 1918, a group of 62; and on September 12, 1918, when the ages ran from 18 to 45, 4,750 more. This made a total of 8,325 for the county, of whom only 1,005 were called to service. The total casualties were 39. In Jefferson County there were 18,536 registrants, of whom 4,077 were exempted on account of dependencies and 3,708 for work, leaving 3,257 in the service. In Albany 10,523 were registered.

To keep the war fever at a high pitch, a "Wake up America" campaign was put on during the latter part of September, 1917. Albany held such a meeting on the twenty-second, and other cities did the same.

In 1918, the work of the legislature was busier than in 1917, with war measures which had to do with finance, soldiers, supplies and food. One of the first acts was the appointment of an ice controller. Volunteer firemen and district superintendents of schools were granted leaves of absence. Funds were appropriated liberally to clothe the National Guard, and for the secret service in the attorney general's office. State employees, by the law of May 8, 1918, with an annual salary of less than \$1,500, were given an increase of 10 per cent during the war, beginning with July 1, 1918, and \$1,000,000 was appropriated for that purpose. An experiment was made with daylight-saving time. Heavy penalties were fixed to prevent "malicious

mischief in time of war." Municipalities, toll bridges and ferries were required to give free transportations to men in service; and the men were protected against venereal diseases and the sale of liquor. By the act of April 17, patriotic instruction in citizenship was made compulsory in the schools for all children above eight years. Textbooks containing seditious or disloyal matter were to be excluded from schools. The food commission's jurisdiction to regulate prices was widened. Young attorneys in military service were admitted to the bar without examinations. All able-bodied men between 18 and 50 not in military service, as has been seen, were required to engage in some useful occupation. Cities were relieved from meeting their financial obligations during the war. It was made a felony to destroy military stores. Teachers were required to be citizens. Citizens exempt from military duty were authorized to take the place of policemen and firemen in New York City and elsewhere.

To carry out the orders or recommendations of these various state and national agencies, the various forms of local government, such as cities, counties, villages, towns, election districts and school districts, were employed. To supplement the State Council of Defense, each county was instructed to look to its Home Defense Committee of seven members appointed by the governor. As a rule, he asked the county judges and the chairman of the board of supervisors to name the committee. These county committees elected their own officers—president, vice president, secretary and treasurer. Later the State Council of Defense asked that women be added to the board, and one or more were so added. These county boards took general oversight of all war activities, although, as has been explained, their primary duty was to conduct the military census. In Dutchess County, the committee raised a fund of \$7,400 to meet its own expenses. It organized a syndicate, with \$27,500, to aid the

farmers; it bought seed and glass jars; it taught 1,000 women how to can vegetables and fruits economically; it made a card index of 4,000 automobiles in the county; and it helped to recruit soldiers. In Albany County, the committee raised \$3,500 to meet its expenses and printed a series of articles on food conservation. The Oneida County committee sent out a printed circular to awaken interest in the war. In Columbia County, the committee met on April 18, 1917, and issued a proclamation to the people. On May 14, it recruited the Home Defense Corps of 100 men. The city, village and town committees were equally busy in divers ways.

When Washington conscripted men of wealth, business and professional experience to serve in responsible administrative positions as "dollar a year men," quite a few New Yorkers appeared in the list and rendered valuable service. Among them were Bernard M. Baruch, who was first put in charge of the mobilization of raw materials and then became chairman of the War Industries Board; Charles M. Schwab, who was director general of the Emergency Fleet Corporation; John D. Ryan, who supervised aircraft production; George W. Goethals, who aided the War Department in purchase, storage and traffic; and Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, who was a member of the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense, and held labor loyal in its support of the war.

MILITARY SERVICE

According to the military plans formulated at Washington, the army was to be composed of first, the Regular Army, secondly the National Guard, and thirdly the volunteers, who were accepted up to December 15, 1917, after which the army was recruited only by draft. On August 5, 1917, the New York National Guard had been increased by volunteers to 1,205 offi-

cers and 39,575 enlisted men. The draft of the New York National Guard into United States service, on that date, by the President, discharged them from the state militia and led to the organization of the New York Guard, under order of Governor Whitman, to consist of 3 battalions of field artillery, 4 squadrons of cavalry, 1 signal battalion, 1 engineer regiment, 3 coast artillery units, 13 regiments and 2 battalions of infantry, 4 field hospitals, 4 ambulance companies and 1 service company. The total strength in 1918 was 14,000 men, organized into 3, and later 4, brigades. By January 1, 1919, this force had been recruited to 22,623. The Naval Militia consisted of 4 battalions and 2 separate divisions, with a total of 5,432 men and officers.

In all branches of military and naval service, New York supplied a total of 518,864 men, or 10.34 per cent of the entire national force. This was twice the number furnished by Ohio, and larger than all the men supplied by New England and New Jersey combined. In the Civil War, New York furnished 484,260 soldiers. To this number should be added men and women who served in noncombative work of various kinds, such as nursing, welfare work, sanitation, hospital, recreation, ambulance, intelligence and administration.

The A. E. F. was organized by divisions of approximately 30,000 men each. Of these divisions, the first to the twentieth were made up of the Regular Army, supplemented by volunteer enlistments and selective-service men. Divisions 21 to 25 were not filled. Divisions 26 to 42 were composed of the National Guard. There were no division numbers from the 43d to the 75th. Divisions 76 to 93 were filled almost entirely from drafted men, and were called the National Army. Divisions from 94 upward were not sent to France, because 95, 96, 97 and 100 were being organized at the time of the Armistice. All of the divisions from 1 to 93 reached France except 9 to 20. The

Regular Army and the National Guard served as training schools for the volunteers and drafted men. In this organization of the army, the identity of New York State troops was lost almost completely.

So it is difficult to indicate in what military units all New Yorkers served, because they "were to be found in every American division that went to France," and in others that never left America. Practically all of the military units of the National Guard had their original designation changed. For instance, the 15th Infantry (colored) was reorganized as the 369th Infantry, as a part of the 93d Division. Some regiments were broken up and redistributed. In addition not a few joined Canadian, English and French units. The two outstanding New York divisions were the 27th and the 77th Divisions. The 27th was composed of the New York National Guard, which in 1916 had served on the Mexican border under Maj. Gen. John F. O'Ryan. Toward the end of August, 1917, the 27th Division gathered in New York City en route to Camp Wadsworth in North Carolina, where the organization was perfected and the men were trained for over-sea service in reformed units. Meanwhile, General O'Ryan and his chief-of-staff had visited France in the fall of 1917 to see what was needed. Incidentally, it may be said that more than 5,000 officers of the American army were taken from the New York National Guard. In the early summer of 1918, the 27th was sent to Europe under Major General O'Ryan. The 108th Infantry reached Brest from Virginia on May 24. There the 27th saw action in Flanders and in France. The division was congratulated by General Pershing and Field Marshal Haig for its effective work. The casualties of this division were enormous: 1,791 killed, 9,427 wounded and 228 taken prisoners. The division captured 2,358 prisoners. After returning home in the spring of 1919, they were given a boisterous reception in New York City on March 25 and

mustered out. Many of them joined the New York Guard, which had replaced them in 1917. A full history of the 27th by Major General O'Ryan was printed in 1921.

The 77th Division, known as New York's Own, and the Melting Pot Division, reflected the cosmopolitan character of the metropolis. Many could not speak English. There were Italians, Jews, Chinese, Irish, Armenians, Syrians and other nationalities, rubbing elbows with the native-born—gunmen and gangsters as well as the best citizens. Nearly every county in the state was represented. It was the first contingent of the National Army to go overseas, the first to hold a sector, and the first to go into active service. The division was trained at Camp Upton in New York, and began to cross the ocean on March 27, 1918. By the end of May the division, under Maj. Gen. George B. Duncan, succeeded by Maj. Gen. Robert Alexander, was at the front. In the Argonne and elsewhere, the 77th distinguished itself, but with a frightful toll—9,294 men and 317 officers as casualties, and 7,500 sick. The strength of the division in August, 1918, was 958 officers and 25,553 men.

The 42d, known as the Rainbow Division, was largely a New York organization under Maj. Gen. William A. Mann. One whole Irish-American National Guard regiment, taken from the 27th from New York City, was annexed as a part of the 42d. The 68th New York Infantry became the 169th Infantry. Others came from the National Guard of New England and other states. After a season of training at Camp Mills, L. I., the 42d was sent across the ocean in October, 1917, to undergo another period of training. Then followed plenty of action as a part of the First American Army Corps, the return home, and demobilization. The division lost 12,332 enlisted men and 381 officers.

The 78th Division, known as the Lightning Division, organized at Camp Dix, had in it many men from central and

western New York—Utica, Syracuse, Jamestown and Buffalo. By May, 1918, it was on the ocean, and reached the front on October 14. It saw service at Saint-Mihiel and in the Argonne. It served in the Third American Army Corps with the 27th. The division sailed for home in May, 1919, and was demobilized a month later.

The 81st Division was organized at Camp Jackson, S. C., August 29, 1917, under Major General French and Major General Bailey of Chautauqua County, New York. Boys from western New York served in this division, which went overseas in July, 1918, and returned home in June, 1919, with a loss of 1,020 killed, wounded and missing.

In Franklin and other northern counties, the conservation commission recruited the Lumberjack Regiment, which was united with the engineers to get out timber for railroads, bridges and trenches.

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt asked President Wilson for permission to recruit a division and take it to France. Permission was given by Congress to perfect the organization, but the President refused to bestow upon a predecessor an opportunity for more military glory. This refusal inspired considerable bitterness among the friends of Roosevelt.

Since most of the supply ships and the greater part of the A. E. F. sailed from the port of New York, an extra burden was thrown upon New York City to provide quarters, food and labor to move the troops and supplies expeditiously. But the metropolis met the exigencies of the hour surprisingly well. From July 1, 1918, to the armistice nearly 1,000,000 troops left the port for France; the record day was August 31, when 51,000 troops were embarked on 17 transports. In November, the fleet had a carrying capacity for 150,000 troops. At the time of the armistice, the American merchant marine comprised 9,000,000 tons, of which the army over-sea service ac-

counted for 500,000 tons in troop ships and 2,000,000 tons in the freight service. Most of the troop ships and a very large part of the rest operated from the port of New York. The New York Harbor Wage Adjustment Board adjusted all labor difficulties in connection with shipping.

New York's contribution to the World War Navy consisted of 25,413 men and 46 women, while the Naval Reserve was given as 48,068 men and 2,329 women. Thus the Empire State outstripped Pennsylvania, the next highest, with 16,000 men, and Illinois and Texas with 13,000 men each.

The grand total of deaths of New York men in the World War, including army, navy, and marine corps, as given in the most recent list of the adjutant general (*Legislative Manual*, 1934, p. 582) is 13,956 and the contributions of the counties are as follows:

DEATHS IN WORLD WAR

County		County	
Albany	215	Fulton	42
Allegany	49	Genesee	53
Broome	145	Greene	44
Cattaraugus	91	Hamilton	6
Cayuga	81	Herkimer	96
Chautauqua	149	Jefferson	116
Chemung	97	Lewis	27
Chenango	44	Livingston	48
Clinton	58	Madison	50
Columbia	50	Monroe	447
Cortland	33	Montgomery	79
Delaware	60	Nassau	193
Dutchess	111	New York City (all boroughs.)	7,446
Erie	844	Niagara	214
Essex	45	Oneida	241
Franklin	66		

DEATHS IN WORLD WAR (*continued*)

County	County
Onondaga	318
Ontario	80
Orange	172
Orleans	41
Oswego	93
Otsego	75
Putnam	16
Rensselaer	208
Rockland	63
St. Lawrence	108
Saratoga	70
Schenectady	127
Schoharie	15
Schuyler	11
Residence in New York State not shown	109
Total deaths	<u>13,956</u>

To this number should be added 40 nurses. The names of the dead are given in Adj. Gen. J. L. Kincaid's *Roll of Honor* printed by the state in 1922. Over 5,000 were killed in action, nearly that number died of disease, and the remainder died of wounds and accidents. Adding casualties not resulting in death, the total is well above 40,000.

A soldier bonus fund of \$49,408,565 was appropriated by the state from 1924 to 1934 and from it 96 per cent of the claims were paid.

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The bibliographies for Chapters IX and X have been combined, and follow Chapter X.

— X —

NEW YORK IN THE WORLD WAR: CIVILIAN AGENCIES

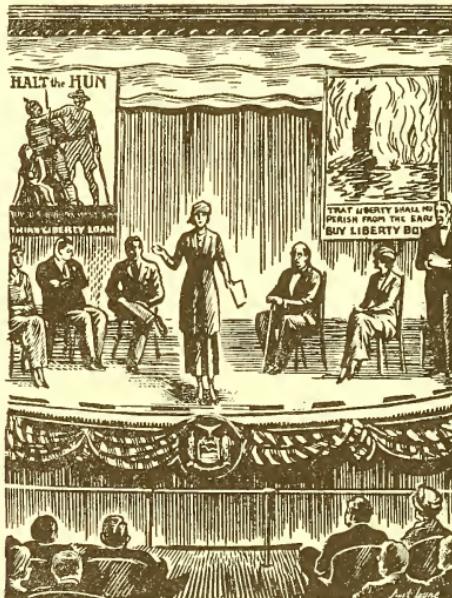
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NEW YORK IN THE WORLD WAR: CIVILIAN AGENCIES

FINANCE

THE World War demanded the organization and co-ordination of not only the civil and military population, but also the wealth and natural resources of the state. The two primary war necessities were soldiers and money. While some American youths joined the fighting forces before April 6, 1917, the most important assistance rendered prior to that date was in the form of foreign loans, which aggregated \$2,500,000,000. In September, 1915, England and France borrowed \$500,000,000 in New York and the greater part of the later loans were secured in this financial center. Germany likewise floated small loans here.

In addition to the funds that were borrowed, the citizens of the Empire State were called upon to make free contributions before the United States entered the war. Drives were made to aid war sufferers in both neutral and belligerent countries in Europe. The commission headed by Herbert C. Hoover for the relief of the Belgians in 1914 was indorsed and liberally supported by New Yorkers for the next two years. They also subscribed funds for the Red Cross of the various countries in both warring groups. New Yorkers followed their sympathies in buying war bonds of the European nations in the struggle—both of the Allied Powers and the Central Powers. Contributions were sent to relatives by individuals—how much will never be known.

To finance the participation of the United States in the World War was a task more gigantic than anyone dreamed. From 1917 to 1919, the American people were asked to contribute the colossal sum of \$18,500,000,000 in five Liberty

Loans, and so generously did they give of their wealth that a surplus of \$6,000,000,000 was subscribed. The New York Federal Reserve district includes New York State and adjacent parts of Connecticut and New Jersey. As the money center of the nation, the quota of this district was oversubscribed as follows:

	Quota	Subscribed
First Liberty Loan, May, 1917	\$600,000,000	\$1,186,788,000
Second Liberty Loan, October, 1917	900,000,000	1,550,453,000
Third Liberty Loan, April, 1918	900,000,000	1,115,244,000
Fourth Liberty Loan, September, 1918	1,800,000,000	2,044,902,000
Victory Liberty Loan, April, 1919	1,350,000,000	1,762,685,000
Total	<u>\$5,550,000,000</u>	<u>\$7,660,072,000</u>

The subscriptions from New York State alone for the various loans were: First, \$1,079,361,750; Second, \$1,413,107,200; Third, \$965,838,600; Fourth, \$1,826,448,250; Victory (Fifth), \$1,607,199,250; total, \$6,891,955,050.

To succeed in this unparalleled financial undertaking, it was necessary to create and to utilize effective agencies, both Federal and state. In the first place, a publicity campaign was carried out through the use of the press, posters, printed literature, the movies, schools, churches, Boy and Girl Scouts, bands, parades, banks, mass meetings and speakers, the Four Minute Men in theaters, the chambers of commerce and all kinds of patriotic societies. President John H. Finley fixed October 24, 1917, as Liberty Loan Day in the New York public schools, and school superintendents in forty counties held conferences. The 3,000 holders of scholarships of the University of the State of New York made a house-to-house canvass to sell Liberty bonds. Many public meetings were held in New York City to promote the drive, and some 550 libraries in the state organized Liberty Loan booths and handed out literature and posters.

In the next place, the entire state was organized through

general, regional and local committees under whom groups of competent solicitors were sent out to call on every citizen in the commonwealth. The work was continued under high pressure, with frequent meetings of the canvassers, until the allotments for each locality were raised.

A typical city like Yonkers subscribed \$18,680,450 to the five Liberty Loans and War Savings stamps, and in the Fourth Liberty Loan there were 26,730 individual contributions. Newburgh oversubscribed its Liberty Loan quotas by \$2,701,550. Jefferson County contributed \$25,563,000 from 17,781 subscribers. Albany, on June 15, 1917, oversubscribed its quota by \$477,000 and the five Liberty Loans by \$5,187,150.

The New York subcommittee of the National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee secured \$216,675,050, or 17 per cent, from 445,020 persons. There were 1,491 local committees and 35,000 workers in the state. The women of New York City raised \$153,143,700; Buffalo, \$6,883,050; Troy, \$3,027,900; Albany, \$2,460,550; Rochester, \$1,003,350; Schenectady, \$500,000; and other localities, lesser sums.

In the second Liberty Loan the banks accepted their quotas of bonds and tried to sell as many as possible to their customers. The later Liberty Loans were carried out with a well-developed technique using a card catalogue and regular specialized selling committees, whose members combed the entire community so that all persons were asked to buy bonds. In addition to the Liberty Loans, efforts were made to sell short-term United States Treasury certificates for financing the needs of the government between the drives. For instance, the city of Rochester subscribed for such certificates to the amount of \$32,698,000. This city's Liberty Loan participation reached a total of \$126,669,000.

Supplementing the Liberty Loan drives came the campaign for savings certificates and thrift stamps, authorized in Decem-

ber, 1917, to raise \$2,000,000,000, which sum was later doubled. Frank A. Vanderlip of New York headed this effort. The savings certificates and stamps were on sale at every post office. William J. Tully, in November, 1917, was appointed director of New York State outside the metropolis. He put on a special campaign, using women, children, Boy and Girl Scouts, schools, clubs and churches; and from January 1 to December 31, 1918, sold stamps to the amount of \$97,796,200. Rochester had 238 savings societies, with 10,000 members, and the post office sold \$3,000,000 in war stamps from December, 1917, to July, 1920.

Literally dozens of other drives were carried on to raise funds for worthy purposes—the Red Cross, church work, welfare work, the War Camp Community Service, the Salvation Army, and many local needs. “The Smokes for Soldiers’ Fund” began in April, 1917, and was promoted by the newspapers. “Smokeless days” were used to swell the fund. One newspaper in Buffalo, by November 21, 1918, had collected \$40,000, and others were equally successful. Yonkers contributed for these various causes \$564,775 and before the United States had entered the war had raised \$33,000 for war welfare of one kind or another.

The state of New York was generous in its appropriations in support of the war. In 1917, there was voted \$1,000,000 to increase and equip the National Guard; \$1,000,000 to mobilize the resources of the state; \$500,000 to organize the state police; \$500,000 for the food commission; \$150,000 for taking the military census; \$2,500,000 to purchase land for military purposes; \$1,000,000 to increase the pay of minor state employees; and smaller sums for many other services. Additional sums were voted in 1918 and 1919. The total appropriations approximated \$7,000,000.

Cities, counties, villages and towns appropriated funds for local use in war measures—how much is not known—but the total must have been a considerable sum. At the same time, in-

dividuals and organizations gave money for projects which do not appear in Liberty Loans or welfare work. It seems probable that not less than \$10,000,000,000 of New York funds was used for war purposes.

By 1918, the practice of raising money through a war chest was quite generally adopted by New York. Syracuse seems to have been the first city to try the experiment and it was so successful there that cities and counties generally resorted to that method. In May, 1918, Rochester obtained \$4,838,093 from 117,064 subscribers. Yates County raised a war chest of \$70,030 from 4,885 persons. Jefferson County on November 11, 1917, made up a budget of \$175,000 and obtained \$275,560; and in a second drive later for \$265,000 secured \$271,042. In Franklin County the budget for the war chest on July 30, 1918, was \$170,000. This sum was apportioned to the several towns and all coöperated in raising \$62,192 except Chateaugay, which made its independent contribution. On May 18, the city of Albany inaugurated its war-chest drive for \$1,100,000 with a gigantic parade. These war chests were incorporated and those in charge made allocations for various needs, local and national, as they were presented. When the war ended, the balances in the war chests were quite generally devoted to the erection of war memorials.

Food

Ten days after Congress declared war on Germany, President Wilson asked the nation to supply an abundance of food for the army and navy, as well as for the civilian population. He appealed to the farmers to increase their crops, and to boys and old men to help work the farms. To city and village dwellers he suggested that attention be given to war gardens, and the formation of garden clubs was encouraged. The United States Food Administration, under Herbert C. Hoover, established in August,

1917, directed the production and distribution of food, and sought to effect economies, to eliminate speculation, and to prevent high prices and profiteering. Lessons in food conservation were given in schools and colleges and to housewives. People were taught how to make war breads out of substitutes for wheat flour. The "victory loaf" of bread appeared. The people were taught to eat more of the neglected cheaper foods, such as vegetables, potatoes and corn. Substitutes for meats and fats were found in milk, cheese, fish, eggs, nuts, peas and beans. Sugar, in which the first shortage was felt, was conserved.

The President issued a food-control program on May 19, 1917, in which he urged the nation to save food; to lessen the cost of distribution; to stimulate production; to prevent hoarding; and to economize in transportation. It was estimated that the food supplied the Allied Powers during the war amounted to \$3,670,000,000 worth, and New York's contribution in one way or another may have been 10 per cent of that sum. The Boy Scouts in a mass meeting in New York City were told by Herbert C. Hoover: "America will have to feed the world for the next two or three years." Thousands of them all over the state did their bit like veterans.

New York quickly responded to the food emergency. Governor Whitman, on April 13, three days before the President sent out his appeal, appointed the Patriotic Agricultural Service Committee which, by an act of the legislature on April 17, became the New York State Food Supply Commission consisting of Commissioner of Agriculture Charles S. Wilson, the commissioner of education, the dean of the State College of Agriculture, the state director of farm bureaus, the commissioner of farms and markets, and four other members, with headquarters at Albany. It was supplied with a fund of \$500,000 and empowered to act promptly to assure an adequate supply of food. This body functioned for six months, when it was replaced by

the State Food Commission. At the same time, the Federal Food Board of New York State, composed of five men, functioned in coöperation with the state board.

The first problem was to take a complete agricultural census, which was done on April 21-25, 1917, by the county farm agents assisted by the students of the agricultural colleges. April 21 was appointed by Governor Whitman as agricultural mobilization day, when 1,089 communities in the state met for conference; and later 2,436 farmers' meetings were attended by 112,378 persons. A trained staff was selected to supervise various activities, such as farm labor, in which there was revealed a shortage of 50,000 farm workers, because of the higher wages paid in industries. Direct calls for help came from 5,940 farmers. To meet this scarcity, boys as "farm cadets," old men, girls and women were used, and employment bureaus were established to bring the needy farmer and the farm laborer together. Workers were sent to the farms from New York City, Albany and other cities. A total of 18,627 farm cadets were employed to plant, cultivate and harvest crops and to pick fruits. In eight different counties, many of these cadets lived in farm camps under a loose discipline. Later the state was divided into five zones, in order to get the boys and girls to the farms more expeditiously. The commission voted \$50,000 for their transportation and the New York City board of education appropriated \$19,000 for that task. Other cities over the state followed this example.

Farm seeds were distributed through the farm bureaus, some 42,000 bushels of potatoes being brought into the state to supplement the home products available. Information was given concerning the most productive seed grains, and 39,352 bushels of seed buckwheat were distributed. Farmers were aided to sell their surplus seed. The commission assisted the farmer to obtain fertilizers and sprays and instructed him in their use. A Patriotic

Farmers' Fund loaned \$300,000 to aid farmers. An educational campaign was carried on to increase the supply of milk, eggs and poultry. Shipping of crops was speeded up. Farmers were assisted in obtaining tractors and labor-saving farm machinery on credit. The commission supplied 42 tractors and loaned them out to groups of farmers to expedite their work. Tractor schools were opened in twenty or more counties to train boys in the operation of these machines. Attention was also given to drainage, thirteen tractor ditchers being loaned to farmers, and to the utilization of idle lands. In Newburgh, three tractors were donated by one man, and funds were subscribed by a number of men to purchase another for the farmers of Orange County. The Long Island Food Reserve Battalion owned seven tractors.

Big mass meetings were held throughout the state to impress upon the people the necessity of food conservation. Such an assembly was held in Albany on June 17, and elsewhere at various times. The sugar companies inserted advertisements in the newspapers explaining why there was a lack of sugar and calling upon the people to use it sparingly. Publishing houses printed booklets on the war and the problem of food at their own expense and distributed copies gratuitously, and some of the historical societies and other learned bodies did the same. The Institute of Public Service in New York City promised to answer all kinds of inquiries concerning the war. College and high-school commencement orators spoke of the food situation, fuel, and other current topics, and many of these addresses were printed and distributed. Efforts were made to revive sheep raising and to speed up the production of pork. From the State Agricultural College at Ithaca 794 students left college in April and May, 1917, most of them to go into agricultural work.

Meanwhile, through the agricultural experiment stations and colleges, attention was given to the prevention or control of plant diseases, and this information was passed on to the farmers.

The problem of quick and cheap distribution of food was studied. Food preservation demonstrations were offered all over the state, and churches, schools, clubs, homes and fairs took an interest in promoting them. Canning kitchens were opened, some of them being coöperative neighborhood enterprises, as in Buffalo, Binghamton, Solvay, Saratoga Springs, New York City and White Plains. It was estimated that in one year 500,000,000 quart jars of perishable fruits and vegetables were saved. White Plains alone in two summers sent 50,000,000 jars of vegetables, jams and jellies abroad and to home hospitals. "Make every acre produce" was dinned into the ears of the agriculturalists. During its brief life, the commission spent \$224,570 out of its appropriation of half a million, and it was estimated that farm crops in New York had been increased about 30 per cent. When the law compelled every male between 18 and 50, inclusive, to work, either on a farm or in a factory, the problem of farm labor was pretty well solved.

The New York State Food Commission, which succeeded the first commission, was created by law on August 29, 1917. It consisted of John Mitchell as chairman, Jacob Gould Schurman and Charles A. Wieting. Directors had charge of particular bureaus. Following the plan of the United States Food Act of August 10, this new commission forbade the destruction of food to raise prices, the restriction of distribution, and hoarding. Excepting the farmers, the commission was authorized to license the making and sale of articles of food in order to limit profits on retail sales; to utilize public carriers to get food to consumers; to waive fish and game laws; to make weekly reports; to organize county war production committees; and to improve public markets as means of distribution. Over 11,000 complaints were investigated and remedied if possible. To carry on its work, the sum of \$1,000,000 was appropriated, and a whole series of food laws was enacted. A second agricultural census of

185,071 farms was taken in February, 1918. The commission printed its brief final report in 1919. The Food Council of Greater New York looked after the difficult problems of sustenance in the great metropolis; and a Food Census Committee reported weekly on the quantities of seven of the most important food commodities on hand.

Since the preservation of food depended to a large degree upon the supply of ice, the law of February 13, 1918, provided for the appointment of an ice comptroller. Governor Whitman appointed former Governor Odell to fill that post.

New York State coöperated with the National War Garden Commission, of which Charles Lathrop Pack of New York was president, in sending out literature on seeds, cultivation and harvesting of garden crops. Municipalities and factories allotted gardens to those who wished to try the experiment, much food for home consumption being grown. It was estimated that food to the value of \$750,000 was grown in the back yards of Rochester alone, where the gardens in 1918 numbered 15,000.

The agricultural colleges and experiment stations united in promoting this work of food conservation. Columbia University, through its publicity division, printed pamphlets on *Wheat Substitutes, Farmers and Speculators, Enlistment for the Farm and City Gardens*. The University of Buffalo also printed bulletins on *Food Preparedness* and *Food Values*. All the colleges and secondary schools, through their chemical and botanical departments, helped to solve the problem of food supply.

The state machinery was supplemented by the appointment of a food administrator in each county, who coöperated with state and Federal officials, on the one hand, and sought to enforce the regulations and suggestions locally, on the other. For example, a food administrator for Jefferson County was appointed on January 1, 1918, who among other accomplishments persuaded the farmers of that county to grow 200,000 bushels of wheat where little or none had been produced before.

By 1918 the national need of saving food resulted in meatless Tuesdays and wheatless Wednesdays. The use of wheat cereals, wheat rolls and wheat bread was curtailed. Ice cream disappeared and the supply of sugar was limited. Hotels and restaurants were carefully supervised as to the food they served. Meats were replaced by fish and substitutes appeared for wheat flour and meats. Daylight saving, introduced March 19, 1918, became effective; and the Empire State passed a law against loafing. On January 12, 1918, the state food administration prohibited the hoarding of food stuffs and on the twenty-eighth purchasers of flour were required to take an equal amount of substitutes. Finally, after the President on October 18, 1917, proclaimed that all dealers in foods had to secure a license, which the local food administrator might cancel in case of violation, the rules were quite generally observed. Instances of the violation of the proclamation were not uncommon, however, and many persons were penalized.

The Grain Corporation had its main office in New York City. New York State was in Zone 3, with headquarters in Buffalo under Charles Kennedy. It sought to conserve wheat and flour, and to induce farmers to raise more wheat, for which a war price of \$2.20 a bushel was fixed. Popular slogans circulated to aid the food program were: "Food will win the War," "Wheat is Ammunition," and "Every Spud is a Bullet."

After the war ended, America's food conservation program was continued, in order that the hungry of the war-stricken parts of the world might be fed and brought back to a normal life.

FUEL

Fuel for light, heat and power was a factor of importance in production, transportation and distribution. It was an essential for agriculture and for home economy. It included electricity, gas, coal, oil, gasoline, kerosene and wood. The necessity for

having plenty of fuel for the production of war munitions and supplies, for locomotives and for the bunkers of transports, was early realized. At the outset of the war, the Council of National Defense assumed general control, but the Fuel Administration was soon created to deal with all phases of the problem.

In New York State, fuel control to prevent a shortage was managed by Federal Administrator Albert H. Wiggin, who in October, 1917, became head of the State Fuel Administrative Council. He was succeeded by Delos W. Cooke on July 23, 1918. The state was divided into districts over which a local fuel administrator presided, and each county had a chairman for this work. Jefferson County had one on October 27, 1917. The problem was to insure first an adequate supply of coal, oil, electricity and gasoline for war industries and transportation; and secondly, for private uses. The use of electricity was restricted and supervised after November 19, 1917. With the approach of winter, the situation became critical in New York with 20,000 steam-boiler plants. The Conservation Commission studied the problem of saving fuel and made recommendations. To save fuel, the Federal Fuel Administration on January 18, 1918, ordered all industrial plants not making war essentials to shut down for five days; and thereafter to close for ten successive Mondays.

This order was rigidly enforced in New York State. Newspapers announced the edict and explained the necessity for it. There were 480 ships loaded with supplies, which could not sail for lack of fuel; war industries either shut down or were running on a shortened schedule; and the efficiency of transportation by land was threatened. "Lightless nights" were inaugurated on November 15, 1917; illuminated signs and advertisements were curtailed; prices were fixed to prevent profiteering; and the use of automobiles on "gasolineless Sundays" was stopped. The movies and posters were used to instruct the people

on the necessity of fuel economy. Wood substitutes were used for coal—a problem handled by George D. Pratt. In these and other ways fuel, “the driving force of the war,” was saved. Because of dire need, New York’s allotment of anthracite coal for 1918 was increased 12 per cent over that of 1917, under the direction of Charles E. Robertson. The soft coal problem was not solved until October, 1918. The “heatless days” and other hardships were loudly protested, but in the end obeyed. “Fuelless Monday” was ordered in New York on January 17, 1918. In New York City, fuel was carefully allotted at low prices and soft coal was quite generally substituted for hard. This problem was in charge of Reeve Schley, who managed so well that coal riots were prevented. To plan for the winter of 1918–19, Delos W. Cooke held a convention of all county fuel administrators on August 15, 1918, in New York City. As a result of this meeting, the state was divided into five regions, each having a chairman who was a member of the executive committee of the state fuel administration. This committee met weekly in the metropolis, and through Cooke kept in touch with the fuel control in Washington. In this way the fuel situation was managed with but slight increase in prices. On March 1, 1919, the office of state fuel administrator was closed.

WELFARE AGENCIES

One of the earliest effects of the World War on the people of New York was to quicken their sensitiveness to the sufferings and hardships incident to military warfare. As a result of this attitude of mind, generous contributions were made to all humanitarian efforts by relief and welfare agencies to ameliorate the condition of the European victims of the war from 1914 to 1919. By the end of the year 1914, New York had raised for war relief over \$2,880,000. If to this sum there be added the value of the food given for the Belgians, the total would be

\$4,000,000. In New York City alone there was contributed for the Belgian Relief Fund \$738,000; for the Red Cross \$415,000; for the German Bazaar Fund \$350,000; for the American Hospital in Paris \$258,000; for the Jewish Relief Committee \$222,000; for the German Soldiers Fund \$117,000; for the German General Fund \$175,000; for the Prince of Wales Relief Fund \$101,000; for the Women and Children of France \$50,000; for the Committee of Mercy \$91,000; for Swiss Relief \$75,000; for the Austro-Hungarian Fund \$74,000; for the Central Jewish Committee \$40,000; for the Servian Fund \$25,000; for the Polish Fund, \$6,000; and other sums for other causes.

One of the early manifestations of practical helpfulness was the organization of the American Fund for French Wounded, for which collections were taken in various parts of New York. An example of this humanitarian work, accompanied with a national bias, may be cited in Jefferson County, where the descendants of a French colony lived. In December, 1916, a committee raised for that fund \$8,519 in cash, and hospital supplies to the value of \$18,000.

This change in outlook was revealed also in a deepened interest in social reform at home, as is shown in many constructive programs, the accomplishment of which was delayed by the heavy demands made by the entrance of the United States into the World War. The war brought to the front immediately a whole new series of welfare problems that had to be met. Some persons were alarmed lest the safeguards that had been created to protect women and children and to ameliorate the condition of workers would be jeopardized.

The Commission on Training Camp Activities, whose chairman was Raymond B. Fosdick of New York, directed its attention immediately to ways and means for providing social, religious, cultural and recreational facilities for the soldiers and sailors. The seven agencies chosen for this work were the Young

Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Catholic War Council, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Salvation Army, the War Camp Community Service and the American Library Association. Care was taken to avoid duplication of work and expense, and it was planned to make unified drives for funds, and then distribute them upon some equitable and satisfactory basis. About 11,000 men and women were engaged in carrying on the work of these agencies. These seven welfare organizations started a joint drive for \$170,500,000 in November, 1918, and actually raised \$205,-000,000, but the armistice and other factors prevented the use of all the money for war relief.

New York was asked to secure as its quota \$35,000,000 and raised a sum exceeding that figure. The drive was characterized as the Victory Campaign. According to an agreement, the seven agencies received the following proportions of the fund: Y. M. C. A., 58.65 per cent; Y. W. C. A., 8.8 per cent; Knights of Columbus, 17.6 per cent; War Camp Community Service, 8.8 per cent; Jewish Welfare Board, 2.05 per cent; Salvation Army, 2.05 per cent; and American Library Association, 2.05 per cent.

In 1918, as has been mentioned, the method of financing welfare work—local, national and military—was through the war chest. All of the larger and many of the smaller cities together with the counties in New York State adopted this plan which had been used first in connection with Jewish charities. Newburgh's contributions to welfare work amounted to \$254,509.

The Y. M. C. A. had the advantage of being a well-established, going concern when the World War broke out in 1914. Hence it began its work immediately in Europe and the Near East, and had spent about \$1,500,000 before the United States entered the conflict. The Association at once offered its services to the Federal government, and opened its buildings for the soldiers. In

two national drives for funds in 1917, the sum of \$38,000,000 was raised, and to recruit secretaries going abroad a special course of training was given at Columbia University. Some 1,500 huts were erected in Europe, and a staff of about 8,000 men and women was employed to carry on the work abroad. When the final drive was made for the United War Work, the Association's allotment was \$100,760,000, and there was no difficulty in raising the fund despite the criticism of the work of the secretaries in the European field. The Y. M. C. A. claimed to have performed 50 per cent of the home camp work and 90 per cent of that abroad.

New York's contribution to the organization, all told, amounted to \$46,750,000 as follows:

	Quota	Subscribed
Drive May, 1917	\$750,000	\$1,250,000
" November, 1917	9,000,000	10,500,000
" " 1918	<u>35,000,000</u>	<u>35,000,000</u>
Total	<u>\$44,750,000</u>	<u>\$46,750,000</u>

Of these sums, New York City contributed about two-thirds of the amount raised. New York supplied 2,250 men and 756 women for foreign work, and 1,012 men and 93 women for home service.

The Young Women's Christian Association restricted its official work largely to the home camps. At all the camps in New York "hostess houses" were erected, and put in charge of reliable women who ministered to the comfort of the soldiers. It was possible in these homes for soldiers to meet their wives, sweethearts, sisters and mothers under pleasant surroundings. Large numbers of New York secretaries served outside the state or abroad with the Y. M. C. A., after taking a brief course of training at Barnard College. The service clubs set up overseas

cared for Red Cross nurses and other women workers, and similar organizations were formed at home in connection with industries employing large numbers of girls and women. New York contributed a considerable part of the \$12,500,000 spent up to June 7, 1919, of which nearly \$2,000,000 was used overseas.

Immediately after war was declared, the National Catholic War Council was established, composed of fourteen archbishops. The council operated through an administrative committee of four bishops, who in turn designated two subcommittees—the Knights of Columbus for war activities, and the Committee of Special War Activities. Since approximately 1,000,000 Catholics were mustered into war service, it was a gigantic task to minister to their spiritual and social needs. The War Department assigned to the council responsibility for all such work among Catholic troops and a free hand in raising funds, and the council in turn assigned the task to the Knights of Columbus. To facilitate the work, the nation was divided into four geographical areas, and in each of these state directors were appointed.

To start the work, the sum of \$1,000,000 was raised; another drive was put on in the spring of 1918 for \$2,500,000, and was subscribed twice over. In the joint campaign to raise \$170,500,000, the Catholics received \$30,000,000, or 17.6 per cent. The Catholics joined heartily in the work of raising funds. The Knights of Columbus carried on effective welfare work both at home and abroad, 461 buildings and 32 tents being maintained in the United States and 250 structures in Europe. Altogether, the Catholic War Council spent about \$40,000,000. Of the 1,075 workers sent overseas, 292 were from New York.

As the war came to an end, the Knights of Columbus established employment bureaus in New York to assist the men who were mustered out of the army to obtain jobs. At the same time, a reconstruction program was elaborated, which dealt with the

rights of labor, the protection of children and women in industry, a minimum wage, vocational training at public expense, good citizenship and rehabilitation schools. The Committee on Women's Activities coördinated all of the Catholic women's societies in the state, in order to send women welfare workers abroad and to place them in the home camps.

The Jewish Welfare Board, under the chairmanship of Dr. Cyrus Adler of New York City, formed shortly after the United States entered the war, affiliated twelve Jewish welfare agencies under a single administrative head. Then sectional branches carried on the work generally and in the state of New York. In the army and navy, there were somewhat over 200,000 Jews, or about 4½ per cent, the largest number proportionately coming from New York. This board was organized to minister to these soldiers in particular, but its welfare workers served all as opportunity afforded. The work was organized at an early date in New York City, and measures were under way in Rochester in May, 1917. A rural county like Columbia contributed to the Jewish relief drive in 1919 the sum of \$9,183. From the united welfare campaign of November 11, 1918, the Jewish Welfare Board received \$4,102,500, or 2.05 per cent.

The Jews were among the first to organize relief work, other than that connected with the army and navy. In 1914 they sent \$50,000 to assist Jewish war victims in Palestine. Then the Jewish Relief Committee, under the chairmanship of Louis Marshall of New York City, was formed with local committees in all of the larger cities of New York State. By July 15, 1917, this committee had obtained about \$6,000,000. The People's Relief Committee had raised \$800,000 from the poorer Jews. At a single meeting in the metropolis on December 21, 1915, the sum of \$400,000 was subscribed; Buffalo contributed \$50,000; and other cities, smaller sums. These funds were spent for the relief of Jews in Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Austro-Hungary, Pales-

tine, Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Greece, Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria and elsewhere.

The Salvation Army began its war work in 1914 and after April 6, 1917, offered its assistance to the Federal government. The work, both at home and abroad, was conducted by its own officers. Its workers were popular among the soldiers. In April, the National War Work Council was formed under Commander Evangeline C. Booth, to serve the men of all faiths. In New York State their houses were in the towns and cities near the camps, where open house with sleeping and recreation rooms was kept for the soldiers. Overseas, men and women distributed articles of food to the men in the field, sent letters home, searched out missing men, conducted an ambulance service, decorated graves, and added greatly to the comforts of the soldiers. Over \$4,000,000, a large part of which was contributed by New Yorkers, was spent in this relief work. During the demobilization period, the Salvation Army coöperated with the employment agencies of the state.

The American Library Association offered its assistance in furthering educational plans and recreational facilities for the men in service, both at home and abroad. Subcommittees worked out projects for book-collecting, libraries and finance, and began their work on October 4, 1917. A drive was made in the fall of 1917 for \$1,000,000—the Rockefeller Foundation contributed \$25,000 and the Carnegie Corporation gave \$320,000. By September 1, 1918, the total fund was reported to be \$1,780,898, and in the united welfare campaign of November 11, 1918, the sum of \$3,500,000 was allocated to this association. The total amount raised for this work was \$5,585,000. By 1918, library buildings were erected in thirty-two training camps. Over 3,000,000 books were donated and \$1,500,000 was raised to purchase more. Librarians were recruited and the Library Association coöperated with the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A.

to widen opportunities for study and reading. Up to April 15, 1919, there was spent overseas \$2,837,610 and at home \$1,680,-190, or a total of \$4,517,800.

Dr. James I. Wyer, director of the New York State Library, served as chairman of the War Service Committee of the association. In New York State, camp libraries were located at Pelham Bay, with 4,161 books; at Camp Upton on Long Island, where there were 57,890 books in nineteen branches; and at Camp Mills, with 10,923 books. New York State was generous in its contributions, which up to February 1, 1918, amounted to \$221,540—the sum of \$151,802 coming from New York City; \$13,108 from Buffalo; \$7,500 from Rochester; \$4,717 from Albany; \$4,301 from Utica; \$1,802 from Troy; \$281 from Syracuse and additional sums from other places. Libraries as well as individuals contributed. Books were also donated generously, Rochester alone giving 35,000 volumes which were mostly sent to Camp Wadsworth for the use of men in the 27th Division.

The War Camp Community Service planned to mobilize the social resources of camp neighborhoods for the social intercourse and entertainment of the men while in training. In New York, committees were formed to arrange for dances and other forms of wholesome entertainment for the soldiers; to have them invited to private homes for meals; to supply games and music; and to furnish comforts which would make camp life a bit easier. In this work the girls and women took an important part. Up to November, 1918, over \$4,000,000 was spent in this work, a large part of it in this state. As the war came to an end, this organization devoted considerable attention to the problem of useful war memorials. With it was merged the National Committee on Memorial Buildings, and an effort was made to persuade various communities in New York to erect community buildings. A series of bulletins was issued with illustrations of suitable structures and practical as well as artistic suggestions.

In addition to these seven welfare agencies, there were other important groups who performed valuable service. The New York Medical Association raised funds and sent physicians and surgeons abroad, who cared for the sick and wounded in the hospitals. New York dentists coöperated with the Preparedness League of American Dentists. Ministers, priests and rabbis volunteered their services as chaplains on warships and in the land forces.

In the fall of 1918, an influenza plague swept over the state and took a frightful toll of young and old. Particular attention was given to men in uniform and funds raised for war relief were used to care for the sick.

CHURCHES

The World War was unusual in that mobilization included not only the military and civil resources, but also religious agencies. The Federal Council of Churches organized the General War-Time Commission of the Churches as a clearing house for the activities of the separate denominations. Its headquarters were in New York City, and Dr. Robert E. Speer was chairman. In addition to a secretarial staff, there was an advisory council of six, and a large membership on the commission. It was organized on September 20, 1917, to deal with the new problems raised by the war. The real work was carried on by an executive committee. An elaborate program was worked out and turned over to committees on finance, on a survey of field work, on chaplains, on camp neighborhoods and buildings, on literature and publicity, on workers in war production plants, on Negro troops, on devotional life, on interchange of speakers, on recruiting religious workers, on employment of returning soldiers, on interned aliens, on social hygiene, on prohibition, on coöperation, and on other problems. Its report was printed in 1919.

The various denominations organized their own separate commissions to raise funds, to send out workers, and to perform

other services. The Christian Church had its headquarters in Albany, under Rev. F. G. Coffin. The Congregational churches established their main office in New York City under Rev. Henry A. Atkinson, as did the Jewish Welfare Board, the National Lutheran Commission, the National Service Commission of the Presbyterian Church, the Episcopal Church, the Reformed Episcopal Church, the Reformed Church, the Knights of Columbus, and a few others.

The coöperative interchurch agencies, such as the American Bible Society, the Strengthen America Campaign, the General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains, the Joint Committee on War Production Communities, the United Committee on War Temperance, the Committee for Christian Belief in France and Belgium, the Home Missions Council, the National Committee on the Moral Aims of the War, the War Service Department of the Salvation Army, the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, the National War Council of the Y. M. C. A., the War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A., and other agencies were all conducted from New York City. A large library of books and pamphlets was printed and distributed by these various agencies.

THE RED CROSS

When the World War began, the Red Cross had behind it in New York a commendable record of thirty-three years of humanitarian work. In 1914, it offered its services to all of the warring nations and they were gladly accepted. President Wilson personally made an appeal for funds to support this humanitarian work, and contributions from New York in 1914-17 were generous. Before the United States entered the war, the Red Cross had sent 200 nurses to Europe and had spent \$1,500,000 in relief supplies, \$350,000 going to Germany.

On May 17, 1917, the President appointed the Red Cross

War Council, with Henry P. Davison of J. P. Morgan and Company, New York City, as its head, and this body functioned until March 1, 1919, when it was dissolved. The council during Red Cross week, June 18-25, 1917, raised \$114,000,000 by apportioning quotas to the various states. In New York the state director had committees appointed in every county and the sum subscribed was over \$46,900,000. On June 20, the city of Albany alone collected \$250,000. The national membership drive for Christmas, 1917, resulted in 16,000,000 new members, 3,500 chapters and \$37,500,000 in dues. New York supplied 1,055,513 members. The plan for a junior membership in the Red Cross was approved by the regents of the University of the State of New York on September 27, 1917. The junior members numbered 1,319,561, and they organized 5,175 school auxiliaries for work.

The second Red Cross drive for funds, May 18-27, 1918, was accompanied in New York and elsewhere with much publicity through the press, posters, dinners, mass meetings, the use of schools, churches and clubs, and parades. The exceptionally well-organized soliciting agencies collected \$170,000,000, the sum of about \$60,000,000 coming from New York. The city of Rochester in 1918 had 109,959 members and 58,000 junior members. In Jefferson County, 41 per cent of the population were members. The New York Christmas membership roll for 1918 numbered 1,907,489. In the first drive for clothing for Belgium in 1918, New York gave 2,464,000 pounds; in the second, 756,650 pounds. New York had 113 chapters and 886 branches of the Red Cross; 400 auxiliaries and 3,000 workrooms. The work of the Red Cross was a revelation of the fact that humanitarianism was not forgotten in the brutalities of the war. In all, over \$400,000,000 in voluntary gifts went into Red Cross activities, and in March, 1918, it was reported that 7,000 nurses had been supplied for work abroad. Altogether, 23,822 women

were enrolled as nurses. Of these numbers, New York supplied about 2,500 in the first class and about 7,000 in the second list.

In all this humanitarian endeavor, the Empire State took a conspicuous part. It had an effective state board and active collaborators in every community. The New York membership increased from possibly 500,000 in 1914 to approximately 3,000,000 in 1919. A woman's bureau supervised and standardized supplies. Another department stored raw materials to sell to the chapters. Bazaars and fairs were held to interest the public in the work of the Red Cross and to raise money. Every nook and corner of the state was busy knitting, sewing, making bandages, or doing some other kind of helpful work under local Red Cross directors. New York supplied over 63,000,000 surgical dressings and 5,588,000 knit articles and linen hospital garments. There were 700 Red Cross canteens in the United States and 130 in France, some of the latter having been in operation when the American soldiers arrived.

Under the Council of National Defense, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and her committee mobilized the 73 women's organizations of the nation for concerted work. New York, like other states, had a state organization with committees in every county, to render assistance in all campaigns for funds to assist welfare workers.

The part played by New York girls and women in winning the World War was more pronounced than has been commonly recognized. In addition to their services as war nurses, many of them performed helpful tasks through the Y. W. C. A., the Salvation Army and other agencies. They kept homelike hostess houses for white and colored troops. They conducted canteens and drove ambulances and motor cars. Many were in medical work. They worked on the farms, 14,288 being registered for such work by June 30, 1918, and in the factories and

mill. They served as street car conductors and even collected ashes and garbage.

Many women's organizations in New York supplemented the activities of the Red Cross. Among them were a branch of the National League for Woman's Service, which recruited motor corps; auxiliaries of the various military units; the Comforts Committee of Christian Scientists; the Council of Jewish Women; the Catholic Daughters of America; the Daughters of the British Empire; the Daughters of the American Revolution; the Daughters of the War of 1812; the Colonial Dames; the American Fund for French Wounded; the Needlework Guild; the Woman's Suffrage Party; the National Surgical Dressings Committee; and the Sunshine Society.

The Red Cross arranged to engage many men in New York in their work. Small knitting machines were furnished to firemen, old men and cripples, and many pairs of stockings and mittens were contributed in this way. Among the numerous services of the Red Cross, none was more popular than the canteens and baths established in the larger cities of the state to meet the troop trains. It was estimated that such a station at Rochester cared for more than 350,000 soldiers.

The women's colleges of the state, and the private schools for girls, were utilized for war service. Vassar adopted the motto "No frills and frippery" and the students and faculty raised \$182,000 for war purposes. The Vassar Nurses' Camp, called the "Woman's Plattsburg," was attended by students from 115 colleges. Vassar recruited two units for Red Cross service in France—one for canteens and one for reconstruction work. Elmira, Wells, Barnard and the girls in coeducational institutions were similarly occupied.

The women of Rochester organized a motor corps which served during the war in local work. Another group of women operated motor trucks. In Franklin County, 75 young women

of Malone formed an independent company for military training as a home defense guard. They drilled and learned the manual of arms. This county also formed a branch of the "Victory Army of Women," which had been formed by the wife of Governor Whitman, Mrs. Martin H. Glynn, Mrs. G. B. Cluett of Troy, Mrs. J. Sloat Fassett of Elmira, and Mrs. F. G. Paddock, chairman. The "Kitchen Band" of Malone, like other similar groups, saved the stones of peaches, plums and cherries to make carbon for gas masks. The "Sons and Daughters of Democracy" took a vow not to use any German goods.

The Woman's Land Army of America was incorporated under the laws of New York in May, 1918, and organized units of women to work on farms and to live in camps under a supervisor. When the war ended, this service was affiliated with the national Department of Labor.

MOBILIZATION OF INDUSTRY

Prior to April 6, 1917, the industries of New York were deluged with orders for war materials from the European belligerents. The foreign loans, amounting to \$2,500,000 before that date, were spent mostly in the purchase of war supplies on this side of the Atlantic. New York industrialists reaped large profits through high prices, while workers and farmers received higher returns for what they had to sell. By June 30, 1915, the United States had supplied the Allies with war materials to the value of \$350,000,000. In subsequent months these sales ran much higher, and of course New Yorkers obtained a large share of this lucrative business.

The Navy Consulting Board, formed in July, 1915, with Thomas A. Edison at its head, looked over New York's industries and made a report on the possibilities of their use in case of war. Hence it was known in advance just what some of the largest industries would be expected to produce. For instance,

when war came, the General Electric Company at Schenectady gave its attention to searchlights, turbines, submarine detectors, submarine motors, compasses for airplanes, radio tubes and devices, winch drives for captive balloons, bomb-releasing machines, switchboards, and many other mechanisms. Men like Owen D. Young, Howard E. Coffin and Dr. Alexanderson served on all sorts of war commissions and in numerous drives.

Employment questions were handled by a Federal director and a state advisory board, which divided the state into fourteen districts with an employment office in each. There was established within each district a Community Labor Board of three members, representing labor, employers, and the national government. Labor difficulties were settled through these boards, the chief function of which was to see that essential war industries were manned. After the war, these same boards were busy getting the war workers back into their normal peace-time occupations.

About half of the 216 firms in Rochester were making war supplies of one kind or another. The contribution of the Eastman Kodak Company was outstanding, and included such devices as aerial cameras, the gun camera, special lenses, plates and films. This concern trained a personnel of air service in photography and also conducted laboratory tests in visibility, camouflaging ships, periscopes and noninflammable varnish. The Bausch and Lomb Optical Company experimented with the manufacture of optical glass and by the end of 1917 produced 40,000 pounds. This concern devoted all its time to war work, and made 70 per cent of all the optical glass in the country. It also improved gun sights, periscopes, binoculars and telescopes. Rochester was the World War ordnance center for the whole state outside of Greater New York, and contributed 41,700 Lewis machine guns, 545,000 service rifles, 1,300 75-millimeter guns, and enormous quantities of picric acid, shells and shrapnel.

The plants of the city had \$300,000,000 worth of contracts when the war ended. The Federal government established three plants in Rochester to manufacture field guns, high explosive shells, and shell forgings. The assistance given by Schenectady and Rochester was typical of what was being done all over the state. The Otis Elevator Company of Yonkers made parts for big guns, steam windlasses and gears. Carpet companies turned out blankets and duck. The Sweet-Orr Company of Newburgh manufactured 500,000 work garments.

Industry in New York was closely allied with, and dependent upon, labor, fuel, transportation and materials. After the conscription of soldiers and sailors, it became necessary to conscript the workers. By the law of May 11, 1918, followed by Governor Whitman's "Work or Fight" proclamation, all able-bodied males between 18 and 50, inclusive, not in military service, were required to work at some useful occupation. Many thousands of them were employed in mills and war industries of all sorts. All conscripted workers were required to register with the state employment bureaus, and were subject to assignment to jobs where they were needed. The county sheriffs were expected to enforce the law. Large numbers of boys under the age of 18 and old men, as well as girls and women, were assigned to the former jobs of the men in service. In war industries, girls and women constituted 14 per cent of the workers. Wages were high, and thus formed an added inducement to work. Such a condition as unemployment was unknown, and material prosperity resulted, despite high prices for rent, food and clothing.

In New York, industry itself was largely transformed by war conditions. All plants accustomed to produce articles which were not war essentials were speedily adapted to the manufacture of war materials of one kind or another. Frequently this meant a complete reorganization of the machinery, materials and methods. Large numbers of new plants were also built to

meet the needs of the time, and old concerns were greatly enlarged. In cities like Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Binghamton, Utica and Albany, industrial suburbs grew up around these new plants.

The state suspended some of its normal improvements in order to free labor and funds for more vital work. Contracts for building highways, bridges, reservoirs and public buildings were restricted or suspended by order of the state government.

Transportation was quite as important as manufactures for war purposes; consequently the railroads, canals and shipping lines of New York were taken over by the Federal government, in order to move fuel and raw materials to factories, and to carry their products, together with troops, food and war munitions, to the seaports for transport across the Atlantic. Telephone and telegraph facilities were placed under control of the Postmaster General.

The economic dislocation in New York State brought a delusive prosperity. At the conclusion of the war, there were 38,107 industries employing 1,000,414 workers at a yearly wage of \$1,303,421,470, and producing goods valued at \$6,974,000,000. Profits, estimated at 10 per cent, amounted to nearly \$70,000,000. These boom conditions continued until 1929, when it was reported that wages had increased 10½ per cent, materials 35 per cent, sale values 43 per cent, and profits 51 per cent over those of 1914.

Along with this industrial transformation appeared serious social problems calling for careful attention, in the years following the war. Secretary of Commerce Redfield, a New York man, in February, 1919, created an industrial board to give some orderly direction to industrial demobilization, but the experiment was a failure. Business demanded to be let alone to manage its own problems and neither the Federal government nor the state developed new leadership to solve the problem.

Shipbuilding was revived in New York as a result of war need. More than 100 vessels of steel and wood—374,830 tons in all—were built at Yonkers, Kingston, Mariners Harbor, Tottenville, Morris Heights, Shooter's Island, Port Jefferson (on Long Island Sound, opposite Bridgeport, Connecticut), City Island and Newburgh. These ships were of various kinds and ranged from 1,500 to 9,000 tons, burden. At Newburgh alone, 12 cargo boats were built in a yard that cost \$3,000,000 and 4,000 men were employed. When the first ship of 9,000 tons was launched on September 3, 1918, Theodore Roosevelt attended the celebration.

THE END OF THE WAR

The people of the Empire State were given a double opportunity to celebrate the end of the war. An unconfirmed rumor of an armistice reached New York on November 7, 1918, which generated a spontaneous wave of rejoicing over the state. The announcement proved to be premature, however, and the people waited impatiently for the consummation of peace. The official report of the armistice on November 11 led to a second and greater observance of the triumph. Parades were held in all centers of population, followed by mass meetings and addresses. The masses of the people were still afflicted with war fever, which resulted in fierce outcries against the defeated foes and praise for the Allied Powers. At Lake Placid the victory parade was headed by a hearse containing an effigy of the Kaiser. Buoyed up by high hopes of a constructive peace which would "make the world safe for democracy," liberate the small nations held in bondage, and so reorganize the world as to settle disputes on the basis of law and justice instead of force, they looked forward with keen anticipation to the terms which President Wilson and the Allied statesmen would formulate. The state Council of Defense on December 3, 1918, announced that it

would cease to act on December 15, but that the Americanization work and the Division of Information would be continued.

The Peace Conference convened at Paris on January 18, 1919, and the treaties were signed at Versailles on June 28. Associated with President Wilson as advisers from New York were Secretary of State Robert Lansing, Col. E. M. House, and a group of experts in history, diplomacy and international law.

Following the armistice and the Peace Conference, the American troops began to return home. The 27th and 77th Divisions were given tremendous ovations in New York City upon their return during the spring of 1919. Other military units, as they returned to their respective home towns, were greeted with parades and mass meetings. The New York boys who served on the Mexican border in 1916 or in the World War were decorated at state expense with a badge and a ribbon. The American Legion was organized in Paris in March, 1919, and incorporated by Congress the following September. As the doughboys returned to their respective abodes, local posts were formed throughout the state.

One of the forms of recognition of the services rendered by the soldiers and sailors who lost their lives in the World War was the erection over the state in every city, village and town, and in many churches, clubs, factories and colleges, memorials in bronze or stone containing the names of the men. Commemorative services were held in their honor. Military units in many instances had prepared and printed a history of their services. Cities like Albany, Rochester, Buffalo, Newburgh, Richfield Springs and Mechanicville issued World-War histories. Counties such as Columbia, Dutchess, Herkimer, Oneida, Yates, Chautauqua and Warren printed histories of their activities. Buffalo appropriated \$42,000 for the publication of its war records. The State Division of Archives and History set out to collect complete records of the war activities of every com-

munity, town, village and city in the state, and about 65 per cent of the political subdivisions of the commonwealth have now been covered.

The Education Law was amended in 1919 so as to permit each town, village and city to appoint a local historian, primarily for the purpose of collecting material and information relating to New York's part in the World War. Service records and other war activities were assembled and sent to the office of the state historian. The Monroe County Historical Commission was organized on February 17, 1922, and City Historian Edward R. Foreman compiled and published in three volumes the most complete local World-War history which has as yet appeared in the Empire State.

With the end of the war, some serious problems confronted the state. It was necessary to take measures to absorb the service men into gainful occupations. In thousands of instances, men returned to jobs and positions which had been held for them, but thousands of others were not so fortunate. Both state and localities took pains to find employment for them through "industrial aid bureaus." Preference was given to them in civil service positions. The industrial commission on April 7, 1919, was voted \$50,000 with which to open additional employment offices and branches.

Following the demobilization of the army, came the demobilization of the administrative machinery which had been fashioned to help carry on the war. Governor Whitman, on November 29, 1918, disbanded the Council of Defense. The legislature on March 31, 1919, repealed the law creating it. Whitman's successor, Governor Smith, appointed a Reconstruction commission to continue the work. The county defense organizations were retained to work under the information service, but were quite generally disbanded in December. The community councils of Greater New York continued to be

active in the four boroughs, and encouraged community forums to discuss the problems of public welfare. The State Food Commission was abolished and its functions transferred to the department of farms and markets. Other state boards and war offices were discontinued. Localities were authorized to dispose of their war equipment for home defense. The ice comptroller ceased to function. By degrees, the political, social, economic, religious and cultural life of the state became normal. Young men who wished to resume their education were encouraged with the offer of 450 state scholarships of the value of \$100 each. After the war, for a few years, the colleges and technical schools were crowded with boys who had served in the army.

The people of New York had never had such an experience as came to them through the World War. In three previous wars, they had joined their sister states in waging a conflict with a European power, but this was the first time that New Yorkers marched to battle on European soil. The world had grown much smaller since the days of the Revolutionary fathers, and man's responsibilities and obligations had widened out tremendously. The network of international relations had become so intricate and so important that an appeal to force which engulfed Europe was almost certain to drag into the conflict the rest of the world.

In the War for Independence perhaps a relatively larger part of the population of New York was under arms at one time or another than in the World War; and in the Civil War the same assertion might be made. But never before had the entire population of the state been conscripted by such drastic measures for service in the army and navy, on the farm and in the shop. Never before had man power, wealth, labor, natural resources, industry, educational institutions and churches been mobilized for a single purpose. Never before had such effective agencies of publicity and propaganda—the printing press, the radio, the

telegraph, the telephone, the pulpit, the class room, political machinery and private societies—been used to imbue the citizens with a patriotic loyalty and to suppress all forms of disloyalty or even criticism.

The war was won, but at a frightful cost. Every community in the state had its martyrs to the Allied cause. Thousands of young men were left maimed for life. Billions of wealth were spent in what seemed like a holy cause. But scarcely had the shouts of victory subsided when many persons began to realize that there was little prospect of attaining those grand ideals which buoyed up the American people during the struggle. With the subsidence of the war fever, although here and there an extremist continued to fight the battle against the "terrible Hun," the vast majority wished to settle down into an ordered way of living. They still hoped that international machinery would be devised to avert a similar disaster in the future.

At the end of the war, there lay in the lower Hudson a whole fleet of discarded war vessels, idle, rusting refuse. That was typical of the war. All over the state extensions to old plants and new factories built for making war supplies were now silent and unoccupied. Railroad sidings were crowded with worn-out cars and engines. Many of the pet ideas engendered by the war were also in the process of being discarded. Gradually there was a realization that the people of the United States had been more or less deluded about the war and that victory was bought at a costly price.

Still there were certain positive gains from the war. Never before had the people of New York been so completely mobilized for a great purpose. Cities, counties and the state realized for the first time what could be accomplished by such united effort. Defects in our social, economic and political institutions were detected and attempts made to remedy them. Never before had so much wealth been contributed for the attainment

of high ideals. Old practices were replaced by new ones without a protest. Men of vision sought to carry over into peace times the worth-while agencies of war time. The community chest, the state constabulary, daylight saving, certain new inventions and new processes, and many other of the products of the World War, were utilized in the postwar period, but the most important lessons were gradually forgotten as the prewar habits and practices were reestablished.

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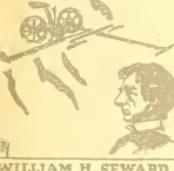
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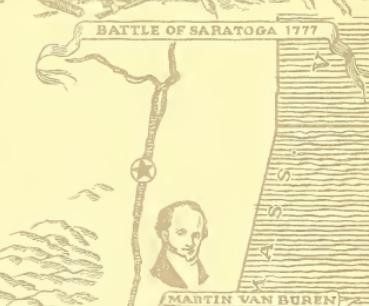
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